[illegible] FOLKES FVRIES,

OR

A VIEW OF *KETTS* CAMPE: NE-
CESSARY FOR THE MALECONTENTS OF
our Time, [illegible] ction, or terror; and profita-
ble for euery good SVBIECT, to incourage him vpon the
vndoubted [illegible] of the Victorie, to stand faithfully to
[illegible] PRINCE *and* COVNTREY, *his*
[illegible] *Children, goods, and*
[illegible] Inheritance.

With a Table of the Maiors *and* Sheriffes *of*
this Worshipfull City of NORWICH, euer since
the first grant by HENRY the Fourth: Together
with the Bishops of that See, and other
Accidents there.

[illegible] forth first [illegible] XANDER NEVIL,
Translated into [illegible] the common People,
by R. W. [illegible] and a
Citizen [illegible]
[illegible] Eyes.

[illegible] 13. [illegible]

Wherefore yee must needes obey, [illegible] vengeance,
but also because of conscience.

LONDON,

Printed for *Edmund Casson*, dwelling in *Norwich*, and are
to be sold at his shop in the Market Stead, at
the signe of the Bible [illegible]

To the right Worshipfull Sir *Thomas Hiren*, *Knight Maior of the Worshipful Citie of Norwich*, and his brethren the Aldermen, Master Sheriffes and *the whole Comminaltie*, R. W. *wisheth all increase of* [illegible]ship, Prosperitie, and Peace, from God eu[illegible]ther, and from the Lord Iesus Christ our *Sauiour*.

RIght Worshipfull, and my beloued Countriemen the Citizens of *Norwich*, when in the house of my friend, among other Bookes I found (vnlooked for) this Treatise written in Latine, by one *Alexander Neuil* an English man: The very Title of the Booke drew mee into a farther desire of looking into the matter: the rather because lying a[illegible] time, and in that place where these Furies were co[illegible] [illegible]held something with my young eyes: and receiuing many strange things from the repo[illegible]thers, I desired, and was glad to see the thing in order: which when I entred vpon, the elegancie of the Phrase, together with the Argument, promised mee a double [illegible], [illegible] not only to know the Storie in order, but also to reu[illegible] [illegible]harpen my poore skill in that Tongue, now through disuse and tract of time declining: so as I made it from my other Studies, my recreation. In the pursuit whereof, I found (as the Queene of *Sheba* saith of the wisdome of *Salomon*) that the one halfe of the calamities, and miseries of this worshipfull Citie (my Mother) was neuer sufficiently

Now more then twenty yeeres since.

 knowne

knowne vnto me: Neyther the miraculous deliuerance, ſufficiently acknowledged by mee, for I finde it farre greater then I thought. Wherefore reading it ouer now once, and againe, and communing with diuers of my friends about the matters therein contained: I found a generall deſire in them all to haue it in Engliſh. Whereupon, my ſelfe hauing found ſuch pleaſure mixt with profit in the reading hereof (if I ſhould not bee enuious: hauing alſo certaine intelligence that it was not extant by any particular Treatiſe) thought good to ſatisfie their expectation, though of many the vnfitteſt: That ſo prayſe might be giuen vnto God of many. And as the benefit increaſeth in our eyes, ſo our thankeſgiuing might grow, and abound. Wherefore vnto that godly order taken, alreadie for the yearely remembrance of this deliuerance, and ſolemnitie of Thankes giuing, as the Poet ſayth in the like.

Annuus aſſuetum Domine natalis honorem,
Exigit: ite manus ad[illegible]

Goe thou the labour of my hande, and receiue vnder your Worſhipfull protection, the good meaning of a poore friend, which wiſheth well, as hee hath good cauſe, to your Worſhips, and this [illegible]e.

Your Worſhips for life,

R. W.

To the Christian Reader.

CHristian Reader, having read over this Treatise with great pleasure, and not a little profit: both in regard of the matter, and elegancie of the stile (in respect whereof, in my simple iudgement, the Author hath deserued great commendation) I wished with many other, that some man would take the paines to translate the same into our Mother Tongue: that the thing which concerned so many, might be knowne of all. But seeing hitherto no man hath vndertaken the Worke: especially being now twentie yeares olde, since the first setting it forth in Latine by the Author: fearing also lest the matter might be buried vnder oblivion in the ages to come, I haue ventured vpon the labour my selfe, and by the goodnesse of God haue finished the same for thy benefit. Wherein I haue omitted nothing (to my remembrance) but deliuered truly as I receiued it from the Author, neyther haue I, in my simple iudgement, altered the sence, though through the daintinesse of the Phrase, not fitting our English Tongue: I haue sometime (and that very seldome) altered his wordes, as the Learned can beare me record. Wherfore I beseech thee (courteous Reader) accept of my poore labour: and let not Dame Disdaine, nor Idle Enuie, offer mee that discourtisie, to carpe at my trauaile, while I meane well to all, and meddle but with the refuse of other men. The Worke is worthie the looking vpon, and especially in these dayes, when the like is wished of many, and looked for of some. For who can be ignorant of the malice of the enemies of the grace of God against vs, hauing knowne their seuerall attempts for our destruction in the dayes of our late Soueraigne of blessed Memory, and seene, and heard of the continuance therof, (no lesse cruell) since his Maiesties comming to the Crowne? wherof their Powder Plot (a thing most immane, and barbarous with manie practices besides) is sufficient witnesse, and testifieth their malice to be implacable (as

This was translated twentie yeeres since.

Act.23.12. *those that had sworne against* Paul, *neuer to eate nor drinke, till they had slaine him*) *whose hope lieth not so much in their owne prouision, as in the intertainment, and helpe they looke for amongst vs: which was the cause that sometime they attempted so farre vpon our Coasts, as was made knowne vnto vs by Proclamation, in the dayes of our late Queene, and the like by his Maiestie (that now swayeth the Scepter) since. To the which end, a number of Iesuites at that time were dispatched into the Land, and at this day, vnder his Maiestie haue beene, and are still creeping, and croking in corners like the Frogges of Egypt: that perswading his Maiesties Subiects to defend their Catholike Religion, they may be readie to stirre vp Ciuill Dissention at home, or else prepare themselues to ioyne with Forraine Forces, if at any time (which God forbid) they shall inuade the Land. Both which are most dangerous, and bring (as our Sauiour Christ saith) ruine, and destruction to Kingdomes or Cities. Moreouer it is a thing against Nature: for Dogges of the same Kennell seldome fight together, except at meate: seruants of the same Family commonly make a side.* Abraham *vsed it for a*

Gen.13.8. *great reason to* Lot, Let there be no strife I pray thee, betweene

Exod.2.13 thee, and mee; neyther betweene thy Heardsmen, and mine:

Act.7.23. for we are brethren. *And* Moses *would haue pacified the matter betweene the two Hebrewes contending together, because they were bretbren: that is, both Iewes, and Countriemen. Wherefore you my brethren of the Ministerie, let vs not weaken our selues, among our selues, while we bitterly contend about matters of Circumstance, but let the rule of the Apostle take place among vs.* Let

Rom.14.3. not him that eateth, despise him that eateth not, and let not him which eateth not, iudge him that eateth; for the Kingdome of God standeth not in these things. *If any man thinke otherwise, God shall reueale it vnto him: but let vs ioyne together in loue.* Vis vnita fortior. *And let the earnest suit of the Apostle be heard, and preuaile with vs, that* nothing bee done of contention or of

Phil.2.2. vaine glorie: but follow the truth in loue. If any man list to be

1.Cor.11 16. contentious, we haue no such custome, neyther the Churches of God. *Let not the vniust challenge of the Papists be found true among vs, at the last: that we agree not among our selues (although of all men they might worst haue said it, that haue so many Sects among them) for how shall wee draw the people to vnitie,*

while

while our ſelues or at oddes, and one brother ſmiteth another?

Againe, you my Countrymen, and naturall borne Engliſh Subiects, be not deceiued by the ſubtiltie of Popiſh Ieſuites, and their Fauourites, which make it no matter of Conſcience to ſet at libertie naturall Subiects from true obedience to their Liege Princes, and to take vp Armes againſt them: Yea, perſwade it meritorious, to lay violent hands, and take away the liues of the Lords Anointed: that they may not bee vnlike themſelues: a Bloudie Generation, whoſe Kingdome ſtandeth only by bloud. But looke thou vpon the courteſie of Papiſts where they preuaile, and learne to loue thine owne Country, and naturall Gouernment: for truly was it ſaid of Auguſtus Cæſar, *of one who had fled from* Anthonie, *and boaſted much of his great Facts for* Cæſar, *at the Table,* Proditionem amo, Proditores non item. *I loue Treaſon, but I commend not Traytors. And let this bee a caueat vnto thee: And ſuffer not a conceit of thy Religion, and of Rome to carrie thee againſt the Commandement of God: for God hath not allowed at any time the breach of his Royall Law, neyther hath hee giuen any one Commandement, to tolerate the breach of another, as the Pope would perſwade. To ioyne with thy naturall Princes enemie is monſtrous, and againſt his Commandement, yea though they were euil. Wherefore feare him that hath power to caſt thy bodie and ſoule into hell, and feare not the Bugge, of Rome, whoſe Buls are but Lead, and his Thunderbolts feathered at the wrong end: which returneth vpon the Diſcharger: whoſe curſings are turned into bleſſings, as this Land witneſſeth: and her Maieſtie, which neuer proſpered better, then ſince he beganne to curſe. And make vſe of this Hiſtorie, where thou ſhalt ſee the end of ſuch as take vp Armes againſt their Prince, and Countrey.*

Moreouer, you that are faithfull Subiects to his Maieſtie, incourage you your hearts, and ſtrengthen your hands, and furniſh your ſelues willingly: for the confidence of a good cauſe is great, as hauing God not an idle Beholder, but an effectuall worker, which teacheth our hands to warre, and our fingers to fight: which giueth Victorie to Kings, and helpeth his Anointed: vnto whom it is all one (if we reſpect himſelfe) to obtaine Victorie with few or no power. And feare not rayling Rabſhake, *nor ſottiſh* Sennacharib: *for there are more with vs, then are with them: with them is an arme*

of

of flesh, but with vs is the Lord of Hosts to fight our Battailes.

Wherefore be valiant, my good Countriemen, and fight with your God, for his worship, for your Countrey, your King, your selues, your Wiues, Children, and inheritances, and make vse of this Booke, where you shall see the truth preuaile, and Rebels receiue their hire. And now you Male-contents, which desire a change, or disturbance of States, and watch for such opertunities, that you might be ryfling, and inuert all order, thinking thereby to become Lords, and to make the Noble, and Honourable vile, and care not what come, or who come, so you might bee scuffling: settle your selues in some honest calling, that you may liue by the sweat of your owne browes, being blessed of God. For you that now promise your selues golden hils, shall (as you may perceiue in this Historie) find that you are but in a golden dreame, drenched in all filthinesse. And you that couet to flie so high with Icarus, shall fall shamefully by an Hempen String: and take heed, lest (as you may finde heere by experience) being carried with an idle hope, and the vaine promises of some, you bind not your selues aforehand, or enter too far: for you cannot get out when you would. They that are in Authoritie, are to be admonished (as they doe) to looke vnto the beginnings:

——Sero medicina paratur,
Dum mala per longas inualuere moras.

Thou Gentle Reader, lest I should increase the Volume too much I commend thee to God, and the guiding of his Grace, to establish thy heart in true obedience: first, towardes his Maiestie, next, towardes our Soueraigne Lord King Iames in all bodily dutie. And if you receiue any fruit of my labour, my paines is recompensed. Let God haue the whole prayse, and helpe me with thy Prayers: Who of his infinite mercie conuert, or seone confound his Maiesties enemies, establish his Scepter in his hand, and the Crowne vpon his head, that he may triumph ouer all his and our Enemies in this life, and may after life remaine, and raigne in the Kingdome of his Saints, for euer, Amen.

Farewell, Gentle Reader, thy poore brother in Christ, R. W.
Minister at Frettenham, in Norfolke.

ALEXANDER NEVILL OF THE FVRIES OF NORFOLKE, vnder Captaine *Kette*.

I Would haue wiſhed verily, that thoſe popular ſturres, and ſeditious ſtormes, wherewith our Country, in the dayes of King *Edward* the ſixth, was ſmitten and afflicted, by the villany, and the treacherie of beaſtly men, had either neuer happened (or if it could be) the remembrance of them were vtterly rooted out of the minds of all men. But becauſe things paſt cannot bee altered, or changed, and this ſtaine of treaſon, branded in the forehead of our Countrey by pernicious Citizens, ſetteth deeper in the name of the people of Norfolke (to the perpetual remembrance of that wickedneſſe) then can be vtterly blotted out, or altogether taken away: I eaſily yeeld to the committing this Story to writing, that all men may perceiue from what beginning theſe ſo great tumults did ariſe; and by what meanes at the length they were ſuppreſſed, and may perfitly vnderſtand thoſe wounds, and ſeditious villanies, to haue been brought vpon our Country, not by good and valiant perſons, but printed vpon her by the routs of moſt deſperate, and vngratious men.

This ſurely is euident to all, that an incredible gaine commeth to poſteritie, by the knowledge of ſuch things: and no doubt, great fruit ſhall good men reape, if they giue diligent heed to the inſtructions of theſe examples, and make vſe of

them in their conuerſation. On the otherſide, vngodly and troubleſome Citizens (if any ſuch there be) as I hope there be none, or not many in this Kingdome, may learne to bee wiſer from others miſeries: Or at the leaſt, if they cannor doe that, (for they cannot doe what they will not doe) yet they may tremble, beholding the feareſull end of theſe men.

In the yeere of our Lord, 1549. when many grieuouſly complained vnto King *Edward* the ſixt, that their Commons were taken from them, and incloſed by certaine priuate perſons: The care thereof, by the authoritie of the King was committed vnto certaine moſt graue, and diſcreete perſons: and a Commiſſion appointed, they were commanded aboue all things, to inquire of ſuch complaints, and to vnderſtand, and conſult of the whole matter, with as much expedition as mought bee. Which comming abroad, and made knowne to the common people, ſundry rumours were ſpred hereof, and among other things done, the ditches in Kent were filled vp, and fields ſometime common (now incloſed with ditches, and hedges) were laid open. Now becauſe the like was not done in the Countrie of Norfolke, certaine light, and ſeditious perſons of the common people began to murmur, and be grieued; and from thence-foorth they bound themſelues with brutiſh rage and villany, that (againſt right, and without the commandement of the King) they would doe the like here, as they had heard done in Kent: Deſiring (as the euent declared) not only to lay open the common Paſtures, incloſed by the iniurie of ſome men, but to powre foorth their vngodly deſires againſt the Commonwealth (hidden before in the wicked intention of their hearts) to the ſpoile, and ouerthrow of all things. Whence they procured mortall warres to their Countrie, and deſtruction to themſelues. For when the report of this curſed Societie came abroade, they began euery where to enter ſecret counſels, and many baſe and vile perſons in ſundry places complained of their eſtate, and bitterly inueighed againſt the authoritie of Gentlemen, and of the Nobilitie. For, ſaid they, the pride of great men is now intollerable, but their condition miſerable. Theſe abound in delights, and compaſſed with the fulneſſe of

The Rebels complaint.

all

all things, and consumed with vaine pleasures, thirst only after gaine, and are inflamed with the burning delights of their desires: but themselues almost killed with labour and watching, doe nothing all their life long but sweate, mourne, hunger and thirst. Which things, though they seeme miserable and base (as they are indeed most miserable) yet might be borne howsoeuer, if they which are drowned in the boyling seas of euill delights, did not pursue the calamitie, and miseries of other men with too much insolent hatred; but now both they, and their miserable condition, is a laughing stocke to most proud and insolent men, consuming with ease and idlenesse. Which thing (as it may) grieueth them so sore, and inflicteth such a staine of euill report: as nothing is more grieuous for them to remember, nor more vniust to suffer. But that condition of possessing land seemeth miserable, and slauish, they hold all at the pleasure of great men: not freely, but by prescription, and as it were at the will, and pleasure of the Lord. For as soone as any man offend any of these gorgious Gentlemen, he is put out, depriued, and thrust from all his goods. How long should we suffer so great oppression to goe vnreuenged! For so farre are they now gone in cruelty and couetousnesse, as they are not only content to take by violence all away, and by force and villany to get, which they consume in ryot, and effeminate delights: except they may also sucke, in a manner, our bloud and marrow, out of our veines and bones. The common Pastures left by our predecessors for the relieſe of vs, and our children, are taken away. The lands which in the memory of our fathers, were common, those are ditched and hedged in, and made seuerall; the Pastures are inclosed, and we shut out: whatsoeuer fowles of the aire, or fishes of the water, and increase of the earth, all these doe they deuoure, consume and swallow vp; yea, nature doth not suffice to satisfie their lusts, but they seeke out new deuices, and as it were, formes of pleasures, to imbalme and perfume themselues, to abound in pleasant smells, to powre in sweete things to sweete things: finally, they seeke from all places, all things for their desire, and prouocation of lust: while we in the meane time, eate hearbs

and roots, and languish with continuall labour, and yet enuie that we liue, breathe, and inioy common ayre. Shall they, as they haue brought hedges about common Pastures, inclose with their intolerable lusts also, al the commodities and pleasure of this life, which, Nature, the Parent of vs all, would haue common, and bringeth foorth euery day for vs, aswell as for them? We can no longer beare so much, so great, and so cruell iniurie, neither can wee with quiet minds behold so great couetousnesse, excesse, and pride of the Nobilitie; we will rather take Armes, and mixe Heauen and Earth together, then indure so great crueltie. Nature hath prouided for vs, aswell as for them; hath giuen vs a body, and a soule, and hath not enuied vs other things. While we haue the same forme, and the same condition of birth together with them, why should they haue a life so vnlike vnto ours, and differ so farre from vs in calling? We see that now it is come to extremitie, wee will also proouе extremitie: rend downe hedges, fill vp ditches, make way for euery man into the common pasture: Finally, lay all euen with the ground, which they no lesse wickedly, then cruelly and couetously haue inclosed. Neither will we suffer our selues any more to bee pressed with such burthens against our willes, nor endure so great shame, as liuing out our dayes vnder such inconueniences, wee should leaue the Commonwealth vnto our posteritie, mourning, and miserable, and much worse then we receiued it of our fathers. Wherefore we will trie all meanes; neither will we euer rest, vntill wee haue brought things to our owne liking. We desire libertie, and an indifferent vse of all things: this will we haue, otherwise these tumults, and our liues shall end together. With these waues of wrath and complaints, tost, as it were, with a Tempest, desperate persons, and banckeroute varlets (with their tales spred) stirred vp one another, and were drawne on to those villanies, whereby they brought great danger to their Countrie, and destruction to themselues.

A bellish paritie.

The Rebels desire.

Windham game.

Not long after it happened, there was a Play at Windham, by an old custome, which lasted two daies, and two nights; whereunto, when a multitude of all degrees came, these wret-

ched

ched conspirators hereunto onely bent their wits, to powre foorth the venome of their enuie against their Countrie, watching so fit an opportunitie of time and place. First therefore were secret meetings of men running hither and thither, then withdrawing themselues, secret conferences: but at length, they all began to deale tumultuously, and to rage openly. And when they heard, that *Robert Ket*, a Tanner, a man of stout, rude, of an impudent boldnesse, and vnbridled violence, had inclosed a peece of Common, they ranne vnto him full of furie and madnesse, and signified vnto him, what aduice they had taken for the disturbance of the peace of their Countrie, and do earnestly intreat him, that whatsoeuer of the Common seede he had inclosed, the same he would presently (their Countrie and they requiring it) yeeld to common profit, the hedges and ditches being throwne downe, and made euen with the ground. *Ket*, as one burning with the same flames of furie, wherewith these were set on fire, easily suffering himselfe to bee drawne into this cursed fellowship, answered, That hee was ready, and would be ready at all times to do whatsoeuer, not only to represse, but to subdue the power of Great men, and that he hoped to bring to passe, that as they of their painefull labour, so these of their pride should repent ere long. And further declareth many horrible things, which of late yeeres they haue indured many wrongs and miseries, wherewith they had been vexed and afflicted: and willeth them to bee of good cheere, for this so great seueritie, so exceeding couetousnesse, and so seldome heard of cruelly in all sorts, seemeth to be hated, and accursed of God and men: And promiseth moreouer, to reuenge the hurts done vnto the Weale publike, and common Pasture by the importunate Lords thereof: And that he would doe his indeuour, that what lands soeuer he had inclosed, should againe be made common vnto them, and all men, and that his owne hands should first performe it: Adding moreouer at the last, that he would neuer be wanting to their good: and that they should haue him, not only a companion, but a Captaine: and in the doing of so great a worke, not a fellow, but a Leader, Authour, and principal, & not to be

Rebels sute to Ket.

Kets answere.

Ket a ranke Rebel.

presens onely at all their consultations, but alwayes president.

These wretched men, and vilest of all that euer liued, being set on fire with these words, when with thankfull clamors they had compassed him about, on the sodaine, as it were gathering an assembly of men, into a certaine field of *Ketts*, next adioyning to the towne of *Windham*, all the multitude flocked thither. And as they had decreed, there they threw downe the ditches, and made them euen with the ground: which when they had done, as vnbridled horses lusting after liberty, which in the errour of their conceite, they fained vnto themselues: partly through their owne boldnesse, and trusting to this vaine successe of things: partly through the incouragements and cryes of their Captaine, being set on fire as with burning lights, it is incredible to tell with what flames of fury, to the disturbance of our peace, and ouerthrow of our Common-wealth they burned.

The Rebels came to Hetherset.

From thence they came to Hetherset (which is a village not farre from Windham) and there they forced into the fields of one *Flowerdew*, filled vp the ditches, brake downe the hedges, and laid open the Inclosures. At these times a great contention, and altercation arose, when *Flowerdew* with griefe and anger much moued, had rebuked *Kett*, and laid all the fault vpon him as the cause of that vnruly and rebellious rout, calling him often wretched man, the baine of his Country, and Captaine of Fugitiues. And by this meanes (as much as lay in him) their villainy was resisted, and their enterprises somewhat abated: who perswaded with all his skill, that they should dutifully lay downe their weapons, which vndutifully they had taken vp: with which words and deeds of *Flowerdew* they being more vehemently incensed: when compassing *Kett* about, they had filled the ayre with cryes, and complaints, and had incouraged one another, at length they implore, and require of him, the true performance of that helpe, whereunto he bound himselfe of late. Hee, as one that put all confidence of the future villanie, in the euent of this present mischiefe, supposing also it were not good for him to prolong the time any longer, exhorteth them to be of good courage, and to follow

him the author and reuenger of their liberty: Affirming, hee had not forsaken that charge which the Common-wealth had put vpon him; neither was any thing more deare vnto him then their welfare, which he preferred before all things else: for the which hee would spend cheerefully both goods and life, the dearest things in their account. *The Comon wealth of Rogues.*

The report of these most vile, and vngracious words, gathered together all lewd, and desperate persons from all parts, insomuch as on the sodaine, great roots of seruants, and Runnagates, came flocking into *Kets* Campe. With which wicked instruments of mischiefe he being now garded: when hee had left at Hetherset and Windham, the markes of his lewdnesse, and had wasted in a manner all places whersoeuer hee came, the tenth day of *July* they came to a place neere Eton wood. Vnto that wood are neere adioyning Common pastures of the City of Norwich, called the Towne Close, in which place many needy, and poore mens Neat are pastured, and a common Heardsman appointed keeper of them, which by custome receiued of the owners an halfe-penny weekely for a beast. Vnto those pastures ditched, and hedged in (for the safer keeping, and lest the cattell should stray abroad) came certaine of the scumme of the City (the day after the Rebels came towards Norwich) with violent rage and fury, complaining that they were common pastures (as they were indeede) and that they would not suffer any longer common pasture to bee inclosed, and were carried with so blinde rage from all iudgement and reason: as that which (by the prouidence and industry of their betters) was inclosed to common profit, they would pull downe with their owne hands. They had now euen throwen downe the ditch in the vpper part of the Close, when many pestilent persons, into whose eares a rumour of this pernicious conspiracy came (escaping secretly out of the City) and ioyned with *Ketts* souldiers. Which men were led thereunto, the rather, because these wretched conspirators pretended alwayes the benefit of the Common-wealth, and care of common profit, to couer their wickednesse withall. *Towne Close.*

When tidings of these things was brought into the City, the-

Maior Tho. Cod. the Maior (who at that time was *Thomas Codde*) fearing at the strangenesse of the matter, thought good out of hand to prouide against this inconuenience, and to labour that these tumults (if by any meanes it could bee brought to passe) might be represſed in the beginning. Whereupon, calling the chiefe of the Citty together (namely the Aldermen, which alwayes are with the Maior in the counsell) to appease these tumults, he goeth with them into *Ketts* Campe. There he found them all wickedly occupied, giuing themselues to ryot and excesse. And first he allured them by money, and fairer promises to leaue off their enterprise, and euery man to depart quietly to his owne house. They notwithstanding continued still their purpose, throwing downe whatsoeuer was inclosed. The Maior when he had tryed all meanes in vaine, and perceiued that neither intreaty nor reward could preuaile any thing at all, to draw the mindes of the Conspirators from so great wickednesse, to the consideration of peace, presently returneth into the City.

A signe frō the Citizens to the Rebels. After whose departure, the Rebels conceiued (as it was indeede, which also they beganne to perceiue by little bowes in the hands of certaine men, which fled vnto them out of the City) that if they tarried any longer scattered, and separate one from another, their enterprise presently, without any difficulty, would be disappointed, and they resisted. To preuent this, they thought it safest, that all their cursed companie should be drawen together into one place. Whereupon without delay they went to Eaton wood, which when they had viewed thorowout, and found no conuenient place to pitch their campe in; by publique consent it was agreed vpon, that from thence they should presently depart to Mousehold. And chiefly they did chuse that place, wherein they might appoint seates for their wicked purposes, and dennes for their robberies. Therefore when this aduice liked them all, and night before they were aware came on, they sent messengers vnto the *Rebels request to the Maior.* Maior to signifie vnto him, that they intended without iniurie to any man, to passe thorow the City, because that way was more easie and readier, and therefore they requeſt to do so with his good leaue.

He

Hereunto the Maior answered, that they were men of a lewd minde, and enemies to the weale publique, and therefore he would giue them no passe thorow the City. Moreouer, he rebuked them sharpely and with threatning words, as men seditious, and desirous to trouble and ouerturne all things, that so striking a feare into them, he might by all meanes possible terrifie them from so great mischiefe, and cruelty. Moreouer, he gaue them to vnderstand, that if they proceeded in their fury and rage, it would shortly come to passe, such desperat attempts would come to a fearefull end. But this speech of the Maior was so farre from terrifying them, as they departed from him more obstinate, and confirmed in their resolution then when they came. Thus *Ketts* Company disappointed of their hope, and intention, lurked all that night in Eaton wood. In the meane season the Maior with his Brethren called a Councell, as it behoued them, for the Common-weale of their City; There it was long time, and much debated: as of them whose mindes were carryed into doubtfull opinions. Some thought there is neede of expedition, and that without delay they are to be put to flight: For being desperately mad, and raging, if they be not in the beginning represſed, they would bring a plague and destruction to the whole City. Other thought otherwise, that it is a matter of great danger, deliberation, and aduice, and that this speede in resisting, comming as from courage, and magnanimity: so it may seeme vncertaine, and vnaduised, whose whole commendation is in the euent. Which course, as it bringeth alwayes a doubtfull, so for the most part a dolefull end. And therefore they perswade, to fortifie the City, and appoint watch and ward carefully, and to bestow the Citizens vpon the walles, and other conuenient places of the City. As for other things, because by the Law of raising Force, and Armes, it is prouided that no Bands bee mustered without the commandement of the King, therefore nothing to be attempted (as they aduise) but to expect his will and authority: All men easily inclined to this sentence, as held for the best, proceeding from the matter in question, and most safe against euery assault of Fortune. And forthwith messengers are sent post with letters vnto the King, wherein all things are

The Maiors Answere.

The Maior calleth a Councell.

carefully reported, commanding that with as much speed as was possible, they should be deliuered to the Kings Councell.

The Rebels goe ouer at Hailsdon Bridge.

The next day after, that was the eleuenth of *July*, when they could not obtaine liberty of the Maior to passe thorow the City, and all hope therof being taken away, it seemed best to them, and they all agreed, to goe ouer at Hailsdon Bridge, which because they could not easily doe, for the straightnesse of the Bridge, the way whereof was too narrow for the drift of the Cattell, and carriage, they threw great store of wood into the riuer, and so vpon the boughes, and bodies of the trees heaped vp together, men, horse, and cart, might passe ouer the Riuer. After this manner being gone ouer, the night following they lodged at Drayton. The next day they went towards Mousehold, casting downe on euery side hedges and diches. Moreouer they pulled downe a Chappell of one *Corbetts*, and brought a desolation and miserable ruine vpon all places. Into this cursed rout of wretched men destroying, and wasting all things, and rushing into all places with headlong rage: whersoeuer they came, *Roger Woodhouse* Knight, and the brethren of the *Appleyards*, fell into their company, while vnwarily they went to see which way these Rebels came. These they tooke, and against their wills carried with them. Then they tooke the hill called Saint *Leonards* hill, right ouer against Norwich, in which place the Earle of Surry had built a faire and sumptuous house, which hath beneath it the maine Riuer running betwixt the City, and hath on the East, and South the wood, and a little village called Thorpe: but on the East, and North, Mousehold Heath, which containeth in length and breadth, more then fixe miles. Heere they placed the Chambers (and as it were) tents of their furies, and lurking those thicke woods, as dogs in their kennels, they violated all Lawes of God and man. Moreouer, they entred that goodly house, & in all places thereof left the markes of their villanies.

Roger Woodhouse Knight taken.

And now whatsoeuer of the vilest, and basest of the people were in any place, these came running thither; and all the dregges, and filth of the people of Norfolke ioyned themselues to this Campe: besides, a great number out of Suffolke; also

of

of men dwelling in other places, and Countries, by the ringing of Belles, and firing of Beacons, came flocking thither. Moreouer, they adde one mischiefe to another: for this so horrible villany and desire (seldome heard of) of destroying all things, they couer with a certaine shew of counterfeit holinesse: for they got vnto them a certaine Minister of the City, whom they appoint to say prayers Morning and Euening. Furthermore, they endeuour to ioyne to the societie of these outrages, men any way excellent for Religion and Doctrine, and for vertue and innocencie of life commendable: Among whom, was *Robert Watson*, Preacher; *Thomas Cod*, Maior of Norwich; *Thomas Aldrich* of Mangreene, a man while he liued, beloued of all men. These three because they refused to be bound to their wicked agreements, and trecherous Couenants, against their willes, they constrained to bee present at all their Consultations, and to take vpon them the administration of all things with *Kett*, the chiefe Rebell.

To Rebellion, they ioyne deuotion.

Which thing fel out marueilous wel; for if it happened at any time (which happened often) that *Kett*, or any of the principal Conspirators (as they were prone, and headlong to all villany) stirred vp by the mad multitude, to goe about any wicked, and vngracious worke, which might tend in conclusion to the spoile, either of the Citie, the Fields or Townes neere the City, the wise and careful diligence of these men, often hindred such pestilent enterprises.

Gods prouidence.

Although *Kett* set on fire with mischiefe, and spurred forward by the rude furies of his companions, was wont sometimes to send foorth Commandement, as from authoritie of prescript formes, which were called *Ketts* writs, whereunto sometime this importunate beast abused the names of these honest men. The Coppie of which writs followeth.

Ketts Writs.

WE the Kings Friends, and Delegates, giue authoritie to all men, for the searching out of beasts, and all kind of victuall to be brought into the Campe at Mousehold, whersoeuer they find it, so as no violence, or iniurie bee done to any honest or poore man, charging all men by the authoritie

„ titie hereof, that as they wish well vnto the King, and the af-
„ flicted Commonwealth, they be obedient to vs his Delegates,
„ and vnto them, whose names are vnderwritten.

Robert Kett.

Then in order other followed: for the number of Delegates were many, for besides the chiefe of this wicked societie, they chose two out of euery hundred, and there were sixe and twenty hundred: and with these, and the like Warrants, many worthy and Great persons, whom the furie and rage of the common people made guiltie, were arested. And many, as though they had been guiltie of great crimes, were led away to Mousehold, and there shut vp in hold and prison.

1600. *Rebels at this time.*

Moreouer, the ditches and hedges of common Pastures inclosed, by the authoritie of the same Commission were throwne downe, and in diuers places, many were charged to be assistant, and helpers in these tumults. And all these things were done, these three, the Maior *Watson* and *Aldrich*, not only holding their peace, and winking at the matter, but also in shew sometime consenting, being often compelled to serue the time, whereby they might relieue their Country toft to and fro, in the deepe seas of sedition and discord, lest, if not resisting at all, the aduersarie, and cruell common people, should haue perceiued it, and so they should haue brought present death to themselues, and destruction to their Countrie, which then without doubt (if they had openly resisted, or plainely denied (as farre as man could perceiue) such was their rage, and vnbridled madnesse) had vtterly perished, ouerthrowne with robberies, burning, and all kind of common calamitie.

In the meane season, the Citie of Norwich, carefull of this estate of things, with an vncertaine hope, and continuall expectation for reliefe, remained doubtfull of these sturres: for hitherto no answere was brought vnto them from the King, neither vnderstood they what the Councell had decreed to be done; and the Citizens without commandement, durst attempt nothing, but remained in the Citie, still looking for the Kings authoritie.

And

And it chanced at that time, many obſcure and vile perſons were in armes in ſundry places, as bound by a common conſent of villany: they had conſpired to teare in ſunder the bowels of the Common wealth: for although the fury of rude and beaſtly men, did much more, and cruelly rage in the Countie of Norfolke, then any where elſe: yet the ſame mortall plague of deſtroying all things, was ſpired abroad almoſt through all pares of the land. Not onely Norfolke, but Buckingham, Oxford, Surrey, Eſſex, Kent, Cambridge-ſhire, and many other places were troubled with the like ſturres. Whereby it came to paſſe, that when all the counſels, care and ſtudie was occupied in quenching the flames of ſo great ſeditions (leſt, if they had not gone preſently againſt the fire, all the Common-wealth had burned) they came ſomewhat later to repreſſe theſe Norfolke Commotions then they wiſhed.

In the meane while ſedition groweth, and loſeth nothing, but daily increaſeth, in ſo much, that of beaſtly men in *Kets* Campe, there were almoſt ſixteene thouſand; and theſe went about to fortifie themſelues with all meanes of defence, *Kett* being their Captaine; and they brought from diuers parts prouiſion for the warres, and al kind of weapons into the Campe. *16000. Rebels in the Campe.*

Moreouer, great ſtore of Gun-powder, and Gunnes of all ſorts a great number. To the obtaining whereof, they ran into all places, and entred the houſes of Worſhipfull perſons and Gentlemen, robbing them; and whatſoeuer cattel they found in the field, money in the houſes, or corne in the barnes, that vngodly, and wickedly they tooke away, (yea, the owners looking vpon them) and carried it into the Campe.

And many, when after this ſort they had waſted, powled, and emptied all places, and left miſerable monuments euery where of their villanies, and made a diſcomfiture of all things, a great part of the prey was priuily turned another way, and thruſt into holes and corners, and euery one heaped vp by ſtealth for himſelfe, as much as their dennes could hold. *The Rebels rob one another.*

This being knowne, and brought before *Kett*, and the other Gouernours (for so would they bee called) they being desirous aboue all to prouide against this inconuenience, by common consent they agreed, that some place should be chosen where they might sit to minister Iustice. Now there was an old Oke with great spred boughes, this they laid ouer with raftes and balkes acrosse, and made a roofe with boordes: where (for the most part) the people standing round about, they determine and decree of complaints, and quarrels, (if any were done to any) as the cause required, and sometime they binde with straighter bands, the insolent and ouer-much greedy couetousnesse of some, by violent taking all away. This Oke was called the *Oke of Reformation*, whereunto at the first none came, but *Kett*, and the Gouernours: of the which some, and among these the Maior of the City especially, *Aldrich*, and others (of whom we spake before, against their wils appointed in this number) contended vehemently by all meanes possible (as much as was in them) to restraine the needy, and hungry cómon people, from this importune liberty of rifling, and robbing. To the which end they went often vpon the Oke, and with their graue speeches perswaded that there might be at the length, if not an end, yet they would prouide some meanes against such rapine, and so generall violence in all excesse. There were besides also other graue Persons, and good Diuines, who endeuoured by all meanes possible, study and diligence, to reduce the tumultuous people (hauing now cast off all feare of Law) and glutting themselues in all villany, from robbery, and burning, wherewith they had confounded all things, vnto the consideration of peace. And these in the day preaching, and in the night watching armed in the City, omitted nothing that belonged vnto them as they were faithfull Ministers, or lay vpon them as they were good Subiects. At this time, among the rest, the wisedome, faithfulnesse, and integrity of *D. Matthew Parker* was noteable, a worthy man, and euery way adorned with vertue, then Professor of Diuinity, at this day in the time of our most renowned Queene *Elizabeth*, Archbishop of Canterbury. Hee minding to doe the office

The Oke of Reformation.

office and duty of a good Paſtor, ſeeing all places inuironed with the flames of fury, and miſchiefe; did that which became a prudent, and behoued a reſolute man. For in rebuking of wickedneſſe, he ſhewed himſelfe ſtout and valiant, and in wary auoiding of perils, witty and carefull: ſo as hee performed the faith that he ought to God and the King, and diligently prouiding for himſelfe, hee ſhewed that prouidence that is principally in wiſe men. But it came to paſſe one day, what time hee went with his friends into *Ketts* Campe, hee found *Kett* and other his Companions of that fellowſhip, ſtanding vnder the Oke, communing of matters betweene themſelues. *Ketts requeſt.* At which time the notable courage of the Maior *M. Codde* appeared, and his worthy voice was plainely heard, beſeeming a valiant man. For when *Kett*, the Captayne of this conſpiracy, was earneſt with him to deliuer the keyes of the City, and all his authority, and to reſigne his gouernement into his hands, *Codde* ſtoutly anſwered, he would firſt giue his bloud, and life out of his body, before he would by villany trecherouſly leaue the City, or caſt off wickedly through feare and cowardiſe, his allegeance to the King. *The courage and fidelity of the Maior.* The matter thus debated on both ſides, and night drawing on, *Matthew* ſeeing the miſerable cómon people drowned in drinke, and exceſſe, thought that ſober and wholſome cómunication would little profit drunkards, ouer-charged with meat and drinke, and ſtrooken with the heate of the weather and ſunne, therefore thought good to ſay nothing vnto them that day. Wherefore leauing all things as he found them full of fury, and tumults, hee departeth into the Citie. The next day early, which was Friday, he returneth againe into the Campe with his brother *Tho. Parker*, (which was after Maior of Norwich) where (it is lamentable to tell) he found them all vnder the Oke, hearing prayers, and in the middeſt of them one *Thomas* the Vicar of *S. Martins* at the Palace, reading the *Letanie*. *Matthew* hauing gotten this oportunity to teach, went vpon the Oke, and there made a Sermon full of wiſedome, modeſtie, and grauitie. *Matthew Parkers Sermon.* All his Sermon was chiefly diuided into three parts.

In the firſt he wiſely admoniſheth them, that thoſe things which

which for their ſuſtentation they had brought into the Campe being conſumed, and ſpent, they would not ſpoyle wickedly the fruits of the earth, and the gifts of God.

Next, that they ſhould not defile their hands with bloud, following priuate, and ſecret diſpleaſures, raſhly carryed with a deſire of reuenge, neither to puniſh them with impriſonment and bands, whom they held as Enemies: or take away any mans life wickedly, or cruelly.

Laſtly, in regard of common profit to ſurceaſe from theſe enterpriſes, and not diſtruſt the Kings Herald, or Meſſenger: but to giue vnto the King due honour, euen in his yong and tender age; whereby they might vſe him hereafter, when hee came to more ripe and flouriſhing eſtate, (the valour and prowеſſe of his Anceſtors being confirmed in him, and, as it were deepe rooted) with incredible delight and pleaſure.

When in this place hee had inforced all the ſtrength of his ſpeech, and all the company had heard him attentiuely and willingly, ſtanding round about him while hee preached: at the voyce of one wretch of the baſeſt of the people, they began to cry out, one by one tumultuouſly; *How long* (ſaith he) *ſhall we ſuffer this hireling Doctor, which (procured for his hire by the Gentlemen) is come hither bringing words of ſale, and a tongue bound with rewards? but we will caſt a bridle vpon their intolerable power, and will hold them bound with the cords of our Law, ſpite of their hearts.*

A Tumultuous wretch.

Then the common people began to murmur, and openly to rage, and many, ſtirred vp with the ſpeech of this Varlet, vrged the matter with more bitter words and threats, yea, and fearefull ſpeeches of ſome, were heard, and dangerous, which came alſo to his owne eares. Some of them cried out fiercely, *It were good that hee which hath ſpoken ſo well, and hath powdred his Sermon with ſuch eloquent words and ſentences, were compelled to come downe, being ſhot through with pikes and arrowes.* Whereupon a great feare came vpon this good man at that time, and vnto this feare was added the terrour of another euill ſuſpected: for hee himſelfe felt vnder his feet the points of the ſpeares, and lauelings, and was in great doubt, leſt hee ſhould

Conceite is ſtrong.

be

be thrust thorow of the raging multitude. Nevertheleſſe, it was afterward perceiued, that there was no ſuch cauſe of feare: for all that were vnder the tree (for the moſt part) had *Matthew* in great reputation, and imbraced him with all loue and kindneſſe, and were greatly glad of his comming thither. For they hoped it would haue come to paſſe, that the people being ſtrooken in conſcience with his words, and made more tractable, or afraid of their wickednesſe and villany, would repent of their doing, or at the leaſt, remit ſomewhat of their wonted furie and crueltie; and by this meanes, all that were preſent againſt their willes, might obtaine more libertie. Howſoeuer it was, he was exceedingly afraid, and ſeemed to be in great danger.

At what time on the ſudden came *Thomas*, of whom wee ſpake before, Vicar of S. *Martins*, hauing gotten two or three Muſicions vnto him, who began to ſing, *Te Deum*, in Engliſh, with ſolemne Muſicke, and diſtinct notes, elegantly ſet for the delight of the eare: by the ſweetneſſe of which Song, they being rauiſhed (for they were vnwonted to Muſicke) their cruell and raging minds (bewitched with theſe vnaccuſtomed delights) by little and little were appeaſed.

Matthew hauing gotten this opportunitie, thought it not good to tarrie, while either theſe had made an end of their Song, or the other ſhould begin anew to rage; therefore comming downe from the Oke with his brother (as hee could get out) he went from the Campe. And as they were going downe Saint *Leonards* Hill, toward Pockethorpe Gates, they came vpon him, and other miniſters of that ſocietie, following him with tumultuous clamours, which contended with him chiefely for the great ſeale, whereby he had licence to preach. *Rebels deſirous of the great Seale.*

Matthew therefore perceiuing, that all were infected with this villanie, as it were, running headlong with deadly furie and madnes, being wearied with ſuch tumults, and lamenting the euils of his Countrie, eſcaping priuily what way hee could, leaueth his brother *Thomas Parker* behind him, to reaſon with them of the matters, and by this meanes, withdrew himſelfe from their furie.

The next day after, *Matthew Parker* going into Saint *Clements* Church, from one of the Lessons appointed to be read, taketh vp the cause againe, to speak some thing of these pernicious tumults; many of the Conspirators standing round about him, at what time they said nothing: but waiting his comming out of the Church, full of rage they stood round about him, and being come out, they followed him presently, saying; They vnderstood he had three or foure good and able Geldings, which might serue the King; therfore they willed him, that immediatly after dinner they should bee readie, for they were to vse them presently. Hereunto *Matthew* answered little or nothing, but called vnto him speedily a Smith, and taking the shooes off the feet of some of them, he caused them to be pared to the quicke. The other he willed to bee anointed with greene Coperasse all ouer, as though they had been tired with ouermuch trauell, and dressed with medicine. The Rebels supposing the matter to be euen so indeed (for anon after, as they were led to pasture, seeing some swadled about the feete, and other anointed with greene medicine) they left off their purpose. *Mathew* not long after going out at the gates, as it were, to walke about two miles from the Citie, had his horse brought him to Kringelford bridge, where hee tooke their barks, and began his iourney towards Cambridge. But in the way, what he saw, what he heard, what furies and villanies by the seditious (which met him in his iourney) hee beheld, to speake of all, were an infinite labour. Neuertheleſſe, by the goodnesse of God (when hee had escaped all these garboyles, and popular hurliburlies) at the length, being free from so great dangers, he came safe to Cambridge.

The Rebels deceiued.

The speech therefore of this worthy man (as an Oracle from heauen) was after this manner wickedly neglected and despised of most vile and beastly persons, forsaken not onely of all health, but of all hope; which, although at that time, blind and headlong through fury and madnes (as deadly, and to so great meanes of recouering their libertie, an enemie and dangerous) they despised and refused, yet without all doubt, from the most dolefull chances which insued, the hor-

rour

rour of Gods vengeance poſſeſſed all their ſoules. For (as we ſaid before) hee was the miniſter of this heauenly voyce, that quenching as it were, ſo great a fire of miſchiefe in their mindes, they would ſpeedily repent: leſt the impiety of Treaſon, ſpreading further, ſhould at length become lamentable to their Countrey, and in the end ſorrowfull, and deadly to themſelues: for all things that were diuinely, and wittily ſpoken by him (as though they had beene fitted by deſtiny to the people of Norfolke) came to paſſe: And the Rebels falling from one villanie to another, receiued at the laſt condigne puniſhment for their ſo great furies.

In the meane time, the Rebels (of whom we ſpake before) thirſting after the goods, and fortunes of Great men, had filled all places with robbery & theft. Being now ſatiate and glutted with the ſpoyles, they turned at length from the deſire of the prey, to violence and cruelty; going through all the Country of Norfolke, threatning terrour and perill to all that would not ſtand on their part. And now the worſhipfull, and Gentlemen (in all places whitherſoeuer their rage carryed them) being taken and brought into the Caſtle, it cauſed ſuch a generall feare vpon all men; that many forſaking houſe, and inheritance, and changing their apparel, leſt being perceiued in their flight & iourney, they might be knowne, eſcaped by obſcure & by-pathes: and fearing all extremity from the Enemy, hid themſelues in Caues of the earth, and thicke woods. And many hauing horſe and cart, were conſtrayned to ſerue; and if they had none, were compelled to get elſewhere. And vnto theſe was commanded (that beſtowing their labour and bearing their owne charges) they ſhould carry corne and victuall to the Campe at Mouſhold. To whom, except they preſently obeyed, was threatned the deſtruction of their houſes and fields, and violence to their wiues and children. Moreouer what worſhipfull perſons and Gentlemen ſoeuer they tooke (and they tooke many) them they bound ſurely with cords, as though in all villanie they had exceeded themſelues. Many were deliuered to be kept in Norwich, and ſome committed to the priſon, commonly called the Guild Hall, others

Great cruelty.

to the Caſtle. Some ſhut vp in the Eatle of Surryes houſe, as theeues and felons: Yea heereunto it came, that if at any time they wanted money (which they wanted often) they compelled the Maior of the City, out of the common treaſure, alwayes to ſupply their neceſſity. Whoſe importune demands, if the Maior had denied, without all doubt, they had emptied the treaſury, and ſet the houſe on fire, and brought a miſerable plague and deſtruction vpon all mens goods. And ſurely they often entred wicked counſell for the rifling of the City; and the thing had beene done vndoubtedly, if by the induſtry and diligence of the Maior, they had not beene alwayes put by their hope, and indeuour. Notwithſtanding many Gunnes, and much Artillery, and inſtruments of warre, whatſoeuer could bee found in the City, they tooke and carryed away (fearing leſt any thing might happen heereafter at any time againſt them) and carryed them into the Campe, charging moreouer all the Citizens, they ſhould bee ready at the firſt call to defend and helpe them, if neede require: Crying out, that they were the Kings friends, and being vniuſtly oppreſſed, had taken vpon them the defence of the Lawes, and of the Kings Maieſty. And not contented with this, they abuſed the Kings name to ſerue their villanie, and wretchednesſe. Moreouer there were certaine Commiſſions ſent from the Kings Maieſty, giuing authority vnto diuers worſhipfull, and Gentlemen, whoſe names were inſerted in the Commiſſions, with commandement carefully to preuent the dangers that might inſue to the Common-wealth, and to prouide that theſe ſturres and commotions might be repreſſed in the beginning. When they had gotten theſe letters, putting out the names of the men of Worſhip, they cauſed their owne names to be written in, and pulling off the Kings Seales, ſet them to forged Commiſſions of their owne, and ſetting them vp in open places, abuſed the ignorant people that knew not this great deceite. And now they were come to ſuch rage and madneſſe, as the fury and ferce of ſo great tumults, could not be reſtrained neither by the gouernours, nor yet by *Kett* himſelfe, the arch and chiefe Rebel.

The City treaſury forced to ayde the Rebels.

The Rebels pretence.

A trecherous forgery.

Moreouer,

Moreouer, they held them for enemies (not onely) which refuſed to ioyne with them in their villanies, but many good Citizens (which to ſaue themſelues fled out of the City, with their wiues and children) they accounted enemies: Who being driuen out of their houſes, through the feare of ſo great danger (when they durſt remaine no longer any where) wandered heere and there, ſeparated and diſperſed, by the meanes of this generall rage and violence: And with exceeding lamentation, and many teares bewayled the iniquity of thoſe times, & the miſerable condition of their Countrey. Moreouer, they threaten the City with fire and burning, inſomuch as they which remained in it, looked for nothing elſe but the ouerthrow and ruine of all things. In the Campe was an horrible and lamentable fate of things; for when there met together a great multitude of theeues and bankrouts, from all parts of England, whome the hope of prey, and deſire of eaſe called from their daily labour, and tilling of the ground: ſuch monſters of miſchiefe were conceiued, and ſuch vnlawfull luſts in all kinde of daliance, that my tongue abhorreth, and is aſhamed to tell.

Idleneſſe the mother of miſchief.

This alſo is moſt euident, that as they had brought an vnſpeakeable waſte, and deſolation vpon all fields and houſes on euery ſide, ſo whatſoeuer was brought into the Campe, was quickly ſpent in moſt gluttonous manner, ſurfetting and reuelling: Inſomuch as it ſeemeth almoſt incredible, how ſo much prouiſion could be deuoured in ſo ſhort a time. For beſides Swannes, Geeſe, Hennes, Ducks, and all kind of fowles without number, about three thouſand Bullocks, and twenty thouſand Sheepe, were royotouſly ſpent in the Campe within few dayes. Beſides paled parkes, and hedged (wherein Deere were kept) were pulled downe and laide open, and what Deere ſoeuer they could any way come by, them they violently tooke and carried away. Nothing was ſhut vp to their luſt, no regard had of future times, no foreſight of the euils that might enſue, no meaſure of wickedneſſe and waſting, but all places were ouerthrowne and emptied in a miſerable ſort. and ſuch a ſlaughter was made of Sheepe, and other cattell

3000. *Bullocks and* 20000. *Sheep ſpent in few daies*

Good penyworths in the Campe.

euery where, as they ſold openly a Wether for a groat, the head and purtenance, as contemptible and vile meat, were caſt away, becauſe there was none in the aboundance of more dainties that would eate them. What ſhould I remember the ſpoyling of Groues and Woods, which were almoſt vtterly rooted vp, and cut downe by the ground? all which, as much as could be cut, they burned, or which is more vile, they conſumed in building their dennes and lodgings. Moreouer, there is added to this ſo terrible licenciouſneſſe (the companion for the moſt part of ſuch practices) cruelty. For theſe filthy beaſts, and of all people, the vileſt, laide chaines vpon the moſt honeſt and harmeleſſe men, and manicles and fetters vpon many, wherewith they coupled them, two and two together, and made them indure long the moſt bitter torture, and butchery of the Gaole.

Wretched cruelty.

Moreouer, they appoint to euery of the gates, and entrance into the City, Porters, that none ſhould iſſue out, and command the Conſtables of the Wards, to ſee that none went out of the City. And a great company of rude Countrymen were gathered together; who were appointed to watch and ward in certaine places: theſe men were prouided for by the Conſtables, to the ſatisfying of their deſire, inſomuch as many honeſt men, conſuming their ſtocks in ſo great and waſtfull expences, became vtterly impoueriſhed for euer. And the hatred conceiued againſt all in generall, that, moſt cruelly they vttered vpon thoſe that they could come by.

Wharton hardly carried aliue to priſon.

There was at that time one *Wharton* (a man of great courage, but not fauoured of the people) he being led towards the City to the Caſtle, bound with cords as a thiefe, a great companie of Rebels went round about him to defend him, leſt hee ſhould haue beene ſlaine in the way by the vnruly multitude. But neither his good behauiour towards them, nor honeſt promiſe, neither the diligent care of the Rebels appointed to guarde him, were ſufficient to defend him, who eſcaped hardly that he was not murthered: for many attempted his death and ſpoile, his body alſo in many places was ſtabbed in with the points of their Speares, and Pikes.

Moreouer,

Moreouer, it hapned about the time that this was done, that the Rebels were going towards the City, & haling one of Molton as priſoner, againſt whom they burned with moſt cruell hatred; becauſe he was alwayes a ſubtill fellow, and a man ſet to ſale for mony (for he was a Lawyer) and as men thought of a reuenging minde, and one that vſed to raiſe vp Spirits, with fearefull ſignes, & ſuperſtitious wonders. While therefore (as is ſaid before) this man of Molton was drawne out of a wood (by the bewraying of a certaine woman) where he had hid himſelfe a little before among thornes and bryers, for lack of better prouiſion, him they haled with them with all reproch and contumely, the heauens thundering horribly (not without the great aſtoniſhment of them that heard it) alſo mighty ſhowres fell, mixt with haile, which couered the earth, and was very deepe, not farre from the Oke, called *the Oke of Reformation*. But this fearfull Tempeſt, as a ſigne from heauen, was ſo farre from appalling, or terrifying them, that, as if they had beene ſtirred vp by a heauenly voice, they are more fierce to all kinde of villanie, and more incenſed then before. And with no leſſe Tempeſt were the mindes of the worſhipfull Gentlemen, whom the Clownes (with notable cruelty, and deteſtable fury, raging, vniuſtly held in bands) afflicted.

A horrible thunder, rayne with hayle.

The Gentlemen in great danger.

All which either feared death euery day (whereof ſome ſurely are reported to haue felt) moſt vndeſerued; or elſe more grieuous torture then death it ſelfe: and whatſoeuer elſe might be deuiſed by theſe filthy Robbers. For certaine of them (as if they had committed ſome notable villanie) were ſummoned before the company of theſe deſperate Perſons, as vnto iudgement; and being ſet before the Oke, as at the Barre, were compelled to pleade their cauſe out of chaines: and when the ignorant and rude multitude were asked what they would haue done with them; all as with one mouth cryed out: *Let them be hanged, Let them be hanged.* And when the Gentlemen inquired againe of them, why they ſhould vſe ſuch cruell ſpeeches, eſpecially againſt them whom they knew not, and were guilty of no crime: they fiercely anſwered; Such wordes of others were vſed towards them, and therefore they would vſe the

Ketts triall of priſoners.

A Rebels reaſon.

the same againe to them; and had nothing else to obiect. Though there were others that gaue this a reason of their cruel sentence, that they were Gentlemen, and therefore to be taken out of the way: for they knew well, if once they might get the Victorie, they should indure at their hands all kinde of torment, and cruelty. And therefore it were better their liues should bee taken away, whom now they had in bands (so should they enioy their ease, and security) then to giue vnto them the vse thereof, (if it were but one houre) of whom anon after they might be slaine as sheepe. So enuyed, at this time, and hated, was the name of a man of Worship, or Gentleman, as the baseſt of the people, burning with more then hostile hatred, desired to extinguish, and vtterly cut off, not only the Gentry themselues, but if it were possible, all the off-spring and hope of them.

Hatred of the Gentry.

In this sort, when all the Countrey of Norfolke in a māner was shaken and beaten with the bloudy tempests of these dangerous tumults, and now almost twenty dayes had passed from the beginning, and nothing in the meane season any where done, but wasting, burning, robbing, and all things not only miserable to behold, but horrible and feareſull to heare: so great griefe had now possessed all good men, and especially the Citizens of Norwich: as at the sight of this lamentable fate of their Countrey, they were almost, with continuall sorrow, and teares, consumed. To resist so great an inconuenience they could not, by reason of so great multitude of desperate persons which now were gathered together from all parts, into the Campe. And that which is more, to take vp Armes without the commandement of the King, was forbidden by Law, as is aforesaid. And because nothing as yet was heard from the Kings Councell, fearing daily the destructions, and fireing of the City, all hope of safety for the most part being taken away, and being destitute of all counsell, they remaine within the walles of the City.

Sutterton at London.

There was at that time by chance at London, one *Leonard Sutterton*, a Citizen of Norwich, which fled thither for the safety of his life, as out of the common flame, and burning.

The

The Kings Councell ſent for him, to enquire and finde out all the purpoſes and intents of the Rebels. *Sutterton* declareth that which he knoweth: namely, that a great multitude of vngodly perſons were gathered together, as mighty waters, that theſe brought calamity and a lamentable plague vpon all places where they came. That the number increaſeth euery day, that no villanie can be thought of, which they haue not determined, that the beſt men are laid hold off, and led away bound with chaines, houſes rifled, fields waſted, Woods burnt and cut downe, all kind of beaſts killed, through rage and fury, nothing left any where vntouched, but by a popular frenzie all things conſumed. Alſo deſtruction and ruine hang ouer the City, except it bee very ſpeedily preuented. Notwithſtanding he hoped, yea, and he heard ſome ſecretly ſay, that there were many in the Campe, and in thoſe dennes of wretched men, which if they had any hope of the Kings fauour, and that they might eſcape without puniſhment, would willingly caſt off their weapons, and imbrace the Kings pardon. Therefore he beſought, and earneſtly, and moſt humbly intreated, that by publike proclamation, he would of his clemency grant pardon, and impunity to as many as would depart from that aſſembly, for ſo he ſuppoſeth thoſe meetings will eaſily bee diſſolued.

His aduice and counſell being approued, by the authority and iudgement of the King, they appoint and decree; that it pleaſeth the Kings Maieſty, to prouide a remedy in time for the diſtreſſed, and troubled Common-wealth: whereby ſhee may recouer her health againe, being once eaſed of thoſe dangerous ſturres, and hurts of ſedition, whereinto the plague of diſloyaltie had now brought her. Notwithſtanding, hee would try all meanes, before hee would cut off that which is corrupt, and contagious (leſt he ſhould bring a maine vpon the reſt of the body.) Therefore hee decreed, that the puniſhment long due vnto there obſtinacy, vnthriftineſſe, vngratiouſneſſe, and ſenſuality, ſhould bee deferred for a time, and hope of ſafety ſhould be offered, if they would abſtaine from their enterpriſe begunne. The fidelity of the King is pledged, and all feare of

seueritie taken away; so as by clemencie and gentlenesse, they may be brought to peace, and a better mind.

These things, after this manner, being consulted vpon, and decreed, this only remained; that this clemencie and fauour of the Kings Maiestie, might be made knowne without delay to the common people.

An Herald sent to Norwich. To this end an Herald of Armes is sent post to Norwich, and for the more expedition, *Leonard Sutturton* is ioyned fellow with him. When he came to Norwich, from thence they goe presently into the Campe; where the Herald standing with his coate of Armes before the Oke with a loud voice, so as all that were round about him might heare, he said:

Proclamation. *HArken all you that be heere, and thou* Kett, *Captaine of mischiefe, and as many of you as are present, giue eare. Although the manner of our Ancestors, and the dignitie of this Empire, and the Maiestie of the name of a King, seeme to require, that you which haue wickedly taken vpon you Armes against your Countrie, and haue cast your selues into open Conspiracie and Rebellion, being put to flight by sword and fire, should receiue due punishment for the wickednesse which ye haue committed: yet notwithstanding, so great is the kindnesse and clemencie of the Kings Maiestie; that those, whose heinous offence craueth for conding punishment, of his singular, and incredible fauour, hee will haue preserued with safetie. And therefore commandeth, that forthwith euery man cast off his armour; that they forsake the Campe, and this Denne of theeues; and euery one to depart to his owne house. And if you haue done this thing, being deceiued, ye haue your pardon, and warrant of impunitie, of all the euils yee haue done: but if yee shall remaine in your former mind, and purpose of wickednesse, he will surely reuenge all the hurts and villanies that you haue done, as is meet, and with all seueritie of punishment. Neither will he suffer any longer remaine, to the ouerthrow of the whole kingdome, the things that are to be cut off, and cannot be healed.*

When he had thus proclaimed with a loud voice (as is said before) almost all the multitude cried, *God saue the Kings Maiestie.*

ieſtie. Which crie, when they renewed againe, many kneeled downe on their knees, commending with teares this kindnes and clemency, of the King, ſeldome heard of, which no doubt, al would haue imbraced, as thoſe, whoſe minds began by little and little, with ſhame and feare, to be ouercome and mollified, had not the moſt wretched ſpeeches of ſome, and the moſt perfidious perſwaſions of *Ket* himſelfe, turned them from the ſtudie of peace, and drawne them backe againe to conſent to their wickednesſe. For *Kett* very fiercely and ſtoutly anſwered: *Kings are wont to pardon wicked perſons, not innocent and inſt men; they, for their part, had deſerued nothing, and were guiltie to themſelues of no crime; and therefore deſpiſed ſuch ſpeeches as idle, and vnprofitable to their buſineſſe.* And ſo turning to his company, he deſired them not to leaue him, nor to bee faint-hearted, but remember with what conditions they bound themſelues, either to other; and that he, for his part, was ready to beſtow his life (if need were) for their ſafetie.

Ketts Anſwere.

Vnholy League.

When he had, in rage and furie, ſpoken theſe words, the Herald charged this beaſtly man (and infamous in ſo many points of villanie) with treaſon againſt the Kings Maieſtie, and pronounceth him a Traitor, & guiltie of high Treaſon. Moreouer, cõmandeth *Ioh. Petibone*, the Maiors Sword-bearer, to arreſt this curſed Caitife of an actiõ of treaſon, againſt the King: but then they began a ſtur on euery ſide, this way, & that way ſtriuing with no leſſe ſtout, then dangerous contention. The Herald ſeeing the minds of the people ſo ſoone to fall away againe (whom before, through the denouncing of peace, he had ſomewhat mollified) and with *Ketts* words, as with ſpurres of furie, to bee ſtirred vp againe; and from the hope of health, which before they ſeemed to imbrace, to be intangled againe, in their former wickednesſe and villany, departed from the Campe. Yet many, notwithſtanding, followed him, and forſaking their former purpoſe, and caſting off their weapons, betooke themſelues to the Kings mercie. All theſe, with the Maior, and *Thomas Aldrich*, went into the Citie, and forthwith the Maior commanded the gates to be ſhut, eſpecially Biſhops Gates, becauſe from thence directly (except ſpeedily,

Kett pronounced Traytor.

Many forſake the Campe.

by this aduice they had beene preuented) the Rebels might breake into the City. Moreouer, all the Gentlemen, of whom we ſpake before, that were throwne into the Caſtle by *Ketts* company, were looſened from their bonds and impriſonment, and ſet at liberty, and were admitted into Counſell with the Maior, and his Brethren, and their aduice required which way beſt, the aſſault of the Enemie might be let and hindred. Againe, they deuiſed for the defence of the City, leſt by the breaking in of the Rebels, and licentiouſneſſe of the Souldiers, all ſhould goe to hauock. It was thought beſt in concluſion, that the City ſhould be defended on euery ſide, the Gates & walles kept, watch and ward to be had, all enterance to be ſhut vp: whereby the meanes of tranſporting victuals, being cut off, and taken away on euery ſide, the mindes of the Rebels being ſtrooken through want of victuall, and weary of the Warres, might faint at length.

Gentlemen ſet at liberty, admitted to Counſell.

Of theſe things which they long time debated betweene themſelues, deliberating, and conſulting, *without Iudges*, there came meſſengers vnto them from the Gates trembling, and bringing fearefull tidings: that many of the Citizens had bound themſelues to the fellowſhip of this villany, and that ſome of them had let in many of *Ketts* Campe into the City. When this great and ſudden danger, vnlooked for, came to paſſe, and the Rebels were now entred the City, all things immediately ſeemed to goe to ruine, & feare poſſeſſed the minds of all. Requeſt was made therefore, (and it was eaſily obtayned of the Magiſtrates of the City) that the Gentlemen ſhould bee ſhut vp in the Caſtle as before, leſt peraduenture while they might be ſeen at liberty in the City, and free from bonds, wherewith of late they had beene holden, the mindes of the Rebels full of fury and rage, ſhould by that occaſion be ſtirred vp to murther, and bloudſhed. Therefore they were all called for, and againe committed to cloſe priſon. Notwithſtanding it was afterward vnderſtood, that the enemies were gone againe out of the City into the Camp the ſame way they came. When this danger was ouer, the Maior and his Brethren, perceiuing the Conſpirators to plot on euery ſide the death and de-

Delay breedeth danger.

The Gētlemen ſhut vp in priſon againe.

deſtruction of men and goods, they gaue themſelues wholy to ſtudy for the preſeruation of the Citie. Wherefore ten of the greateſt peeces of Ordinance were planted againſt the enemies in the ditch (called the Caſtle ditch) and well placed for the defence of the Citie, if any force and aſſault ſhould bee made. Moreouer, they appoint watch and ward, eſpecially in thoſe places, where through tract of time, the walles were weake and decayed: Who were commanded forthwith to remayne in thoſe places; that if any danger ſhould happen from the enemy in the night, they might preſently with ſtones, Pikes, and other prouiſion, bee driuen from the walles, and Gates of the City. The reſt of the multitude were commanded, that all of them armed, ſhould bee ready in the Market place, and croſſe ſtreets of the City, for euery occaſion.

Ordinance in the caſtle ditch.

And becauſe it ſeemed that the Ordinance (whereof wee ſpake) placed in the Caſtle ditch, and ruines of the walles, did not much annoy the enemy, nor bring any defence vnto the City: At the cõmandement of the Maior they were all brought into the plaine, & ſpeedily beſtowed in the Meddowes which lye to the loweſt part of the City, and all the night following (for the moſt part) was ſpent in tearefull ſhot on both ſides.

A fearefull night.

The next day, the Rebels (perceiuing of all that tumult in the night, more feare then hurt to the Citie: becauſe the bullets from their Ordinance, mounting ouer the City, had done no harme) brought all the Ordinance they had, from the Hill, into the Plaine, and planting them at the bottome of the Hill, beganne to aſſault the City afreſh: but becauſe ſoone after, the Campe beganne to be diſtreſſed for victuall, that they might more commodiouſly bring prouiſion from the places neere adioyning, they agree to make truce with the Citizens for a time. Therefore they ordayne to this office as Ambaſſadours, one *Iames Williams*, and *Rafe Sutton*, beaſtly men, and of the common people of the City of Norwich the baſeſt. Theſe came preſently from the Camp to the City Gates, with a Banner of Truce in their hands, and by the permiſſion of the Citizens, were brought to the Maior and his Brethren, and are ſaid to ſpeake after this manner:

Ketts truce

OVr Captaine Kett and his Souldiers, intreateth of this City, and of you the Maior, and your Brethren, Peace & Truce, for a few dayes, whereby he may haue liberty (as the custome was of late) to transport victuall through the City, which thing, except yee grant, he will breake in by force into the City, and threatneth destruction by fire and sword.

The Maiors answere.

HEreunto the Maior answered, that they were most wretched Traytors, cladde with all disloyaltie and villany, seldome heard of. Therefore he would yeeld nothing vnto their vniust demands, neither was it lawfull for him, if he would, especially vnto them the vilest men that euer were borne. That they had committed so many, and such intolerable villanies, whereby they deserued, not only to be shut out of the Citie, but also (if it could be) raced out of the nature of mankinde. That they despised the Kings Maiestie, wasted the Countrey, destroyed the City of Norwich, almost on euery side had branded an euerlasting note of reproch for villany and treason vpon themselues and their posteritie, all places through force and cruelty polluted, troubled, vexed, and destroyed. Notwithstanding doe they intreat to be admitted into the Citie? to be Citizens? to be partakers of the benefits thereof, and diuine exercises? And doe they intreat at the last that their want might be supplyed? What? doe they not repent of the wickednesse whereto they haue vowed themselues? What? not so much as are ashamed? Verily I know not whether are more wicked they that haue done these things; or more shamelesse they that make request for them. Doe they hope of the Maior? And of the same Maior, whom of late they made to suffer the shame of imprisonment? Of this City which they wish ouerthrowne by the foundation? Of the people of Norwich, vpon whom they haue brought violence, and the danger of Warre on euery side? Corne and victuall, to be ministred vnto them (as meate to the furies?) What madnesse were this at length to see? Let them be packing therefore let them be packing, and tell Kett, that wicked Captaine of these outragious villanies, these things: The Citizens of Norwich will obey the Kings Maiesty, not Traytors to their Countrey, and most cruell beasts: And that hee esteemeth little of the dangers and feares, they intend against the

City.

Citie. Let them breake in, destroy, cast downe, cut off, lay euen with the ground, and make spoile of all things: but let them know, that God is the rewarder, and the reuenger. And let them tremble at length in the conscience of so great wickednesse: for they shall, no doubt, ere long, be seuerely punished, which they haue iustly drawne vpon themselues by their furie and madnesse.

These things with speed returned to *Kett*, and his companions in the Campe, being much mooued hereat; with a brainsicke rage (as wild furies) they came running downe the hill with a cruell and despitefull noise, crying out. And when they came neere the Gates, they practized with all their forces to breake into the Citie, but being driuen backe with pikes and arrowes, they left that enterprise. At that time all the Ordinance (as was said before) being placed in the meddowes beneath the Citie, was spent vpon the enemie: but for lacke of powder, and want of skill in the Gunners, to small or little purpose. Yet many being shot with arrowes were wounded, which when they fell thicke vpon the ground, the beardlesse boyes of the Countrie (whereof there were a great number) and others of the dregges of the people, men most filthy, gathered them vp, and carried them to the enemie: And the minds of them all were so inflamed, as the very naked, and vnarmed boyes (as though a certaine frenzie had bereaued them of the sense of vnderstanding) running about, prouoked our men with all reprochfull speeches. There was added also to their importune cursed words, an odious, & inhumane villany: for (with reuerence to the Readers) one of these cursed boyes, putting downe his hose, and in derision, turning his bare buttocks to our men, with an horrible noise and out-cry, filling the aire (all men beholding him) did that, which a chast tongue shameth to speake, much more a sober man to write: but being shot thorow the buttocks, one gaue him, as was meete, the punishment he deserued. It is reported also, that some hauing the arrowes sticking fast in their bodies (a thing fearefull to tell) drawing them out of the greene wounds, with their owne hands, gaue them (as they were dropping with blood) to the Rebels

A beastly villany.

A fearefull and desperate cruelty.

Rebels that were about them, whereby yet at the leaſt, they might bee turned vpon vs againe: ſo great a deſire was there almoſt in all ages of ſpoiling, and ſo great a thirſt of ſhedding bloud.

In the meane ſeaſon, when on the other ſide of the Citie, a fearefull crie began; *To your weapon, To your weapon; Citizens, if ye be men, to your weapon, the enemies are entred the Citie*: and all men on the ſudden ran thither, as is the manner of men in feare, where eſpecially the greateſt tumult and noiſe is heard. The Rebels beholding theſe things from the hill, and perceiuing the Citizens thinne vpon the walles, and before the Gates of the Citie, reſolued preſently to enter the Citie where it was void of defence. There the boyes (of whom wee ſpake before) and a great company of Country Clownes, did hazard a thing not only marueilous to ſee, but incredible to heare. For the vnarmed multitude, and others, part with Clubbes and Swords, others with Speares, Staues and Iauelins, (as chance could arme euery man on the ſudden) caſt themſelues headlong into the Riuer that cõpaſſeth the Citie, at the Bridge, called Biſhops Gates Bridge. Who, without feare, ſwimming ouer, and flying to the Gates with out-cries, and moſt tumultuous noiſe, ſtrooke ſuch a terrour in the minds of all men, as there was none almoſt, which thought not that day, the day of doome, both to their Citie, and to themſelues. Therefore all for the moſt part (being afraid and diſcomfited) fled, and as euery man could find the way to his houſe, and the ſecret places thereof, they creepe in, leauing the Citie vndefended. But the Rebels, pulling off the barres of the Gates; whatſoeuer Ordinance, or inſtruments of warre they found in the Citie, they carried with them into the Campe. There when ſome of our friends among them vpon the miſerable ſight of theſe things, were ſtrooken with ſorrow and compaſſion, and with lamentable voice, and waterie eyes, prayed God to turne theſe calamities from the Citie: The Boyes and Country Clownes, which ſtood round about, mocked them, calling them traitors, and in moſt vile maner they were vexed, and grieued, with curſings and reuilings. But the Gates after this ſort ſet open (as

The enemies policy.

was

was said before) when all things were disordered through the boldnesse, and violence of the Rebels (for they came to and fro out of the Campe into the City.) The Herald (for as yet he was in the City, neither was the last day appointed by the King (for the multitude to lay downe their weapons) yet past) came with the Maior into the market place, accompanied with a great number of Citizens.

There againe in the Kings name, hee commandeth them to put off their armour, to leaue the Campe, euery one to depart home to his owne house, and to vse reuerently and humbly the Kings mercy and clemency. If they would so doe; then they should be safe, and free from all punishment. Otherwise, there is nothing to be looked for; but grieuous torments, bitter death, and all extremity. When hee had made an end of speaking, the Rebels cryed out very arrogantly and fiercely, saying; Let him depart with a pestilence, and on the deuils name, with his idle promises: He was mad, that infusing such flattering speeches into their eares, did beleeue that they being bewitched with such intising words, would bee oppressed, and circumuented in the end. They detested such mercy, and vterly defied it; as which in apparant offering a slender and vaine hope of impunity, would cut off treacherously all safety.

Pardon offered again.

Pardon refused.

The Herald perceiuing now all of them giuen ouer, and (as it were) bondslaues to fury and villanie; and that they could neither by the feare of punishment, nor hope of impunity be brought from their intended wickednesse: without any thing done presently, leaueth the City, and returneth to the Court. Soone after whose departure, the Rebels commanded *Leonard Sutterton* to bee brought before them, that so they might lay him in chaines: because hee had beene companion with the Herald in his iourney. But *Sutterton* vnderstanding the matter: fearing alsolest the mad, and turbulent people, burning towards him with malice (as they did towards all good men) might deale cruelly with him, hid himselfe priuily in the City amongst his friends and kindred.

Leonard Sutterton sought.

Then *Kett* tooke the Maior, *Robert Watson*, *William Rogers*, *Iohn*

The Maior put in prison.

Iohn Homer, one, *William Brampton*, and many others, and commanded them to bee brought out of the City into the Campe, and so to prison, where chaines were put vpon them all, and they were shut vp in Mount Surrey, and there remained prisoners, and in irons, vntill the last day of this conspiracy; at the length some of them were set at liberty, others cruelly slaine.

Kett distressed maketh the worst choise

While these and the like were tumultuously done in the Campe; *Kett* perceiuing the matter was come to this passe, that he must of necessity, either haue a bloudy victory against his Countrey, or else shortly receiue an end worthy his deseruing, thought it best for his affaires, if hee could draw a huge multitude together, for the increase of his Army. Wherefore he allured by rewards, and faire promises, all fugitiues on euery side, as many as could be gathered together, and men that had nothing to take to, and were without hope of any thing, to ioyne themselues to the fellowship of this cursed company. Whereupon, it is incredible to tell, how great, and almost innumerable multitudes of graceless persons, on the sodaine were assembled.

The Citizens carefull of their Maior.

But the Citizens tooke it grieuously, that their Maior, a worthy and vpright man, should bee holden bound of wretched murtherers, and as it now seemed, thirsty of bloud: moreouer in bonds should sustaine the contumely, and shame of the prison: fearing also lest in the end hee might bee slaine by violence: because some of them threatned him many grieuous things: others scurrilously and scoffing, iested at the good mans name, and that dangerously, as pretending death vnto him after a sort. For being called *Codde*, by name, and there is a fish of the Sea called after the same manner (in Latine called *Capito*) in contempt of the worthy Maiors name, and to his no little danger, one varlet ministring occasion vnto another of laughter and scoffing, they made an O, yes; and cryed, As many as would come to the Campe to morrow, should buy a Cods head for a penny. Hereupon the Citizens fearing lest the seditious should determine any thing grieuously against him: and being marueilously troubled in minde,

The Maior in great danger.

minde, and carefull of the Maiors danger, hauing deserued so well of them; they came vnto *Thomas Aldrich*, complaining one by one, of this importunate boldnesse, and vnbridled violence. This *Aldrich* (as wee said before) was a man beloued of all men; and ruled with such wisedome, grauity, and modesty (for he was a man of a fine and sharpe wit) that euen his name was fearefull to the most barbarous enemie. For, when al men loued him exceedingly, marualing at his singular courtesie and modesty, in as much as among the chiefe of the Rebels, he had that command in short time, as neither his aduice, nor enterprises were at any time in vaine. Therefore, much of the goods that were taken away of the Rebels by violence, through his industry were restored again to the owners, & many pestilent attempts of the seditious, by his prouidence & diligence were restrained. When therfore he vnderstood in how great danger the safety of the life of the Maior was: being moued with the indignity of the thing, hee went to *Kett* into the Campe, and willeth him to set at liberty, and out of bonds, the Maior of the City. Hereunto, when *Kett*, as it were perplexed in minde, said nothing, *Aldrich* cryed with a loud voyce, *Art thou not ashamed, wretched Traytour, to hold in prison and irons, I say, not alone an harmelesse man, but a Maior, which is the Kings Maiesties most faithfull Lieutenant? Art thou so fierce and cruell, that when through ryot and excesse, thou hast wasted the goods and commodities of all men, thou canst now not bee satisfied, nor filled, except thou mayest drinke vp at last also the bloud of innocent persons? Therefore thou the wretchedst man the earth beareth, command him forthwith to bee brought out of prison.*

Aldrichs speech to Kett, for the Maiors liberty.

These words, as flashes of lightning, sharpely bent against *Kett* (whether it were for the reuerence of the man that spake, or which is most like, of a conscience of his wickednesse) strooke such a feare and terrour in him, as the thing which others could not obtaine with intreaty and all perswasion, he brought to passe with threats and grauity of speech. By whose wisdome, the Maior hauing obtained his liberty, although he could not altogether auoid al the storms of that turbulēt time:

yet he escaped happily both the grieuousnes of imprisonment, and danger of his life. Wherefore, hauing liberty to goe all about in the City, his care and diligence was a great comfort to many of the Citizens afterward, against those euils which at that time oppressed the City. And for as much as he could not sit continually in the gouernment of the City, because (for the most part) hee was constrained to abide in the enemies Campe, he deputed one *Augustine Steward* in his roome, to take the charge of defending, and gouerning the City in his absence. Who taking vnto him, *Henry Bacon*, and *John Atkinson*, then Sheriues of Norwich: ruled the City carefully, and kept all the Citizens easily in order (except the vnruly) who no good order could command. But here must needs be remembred, what seuere, and sowre Iudges, the seditious were vpon them; whom hauing in prison and bonds, they afflicted with all opprobry, and shame: whose cruelty and wickednesse was so great, as those, whom they had first oppressed with vnspeakeable villany, and seldome heard of, them (at the length vexed, and afflicted with extreme miseries) they deliuered to the mad multitude to be slaine. For a day was appointed, wherein they that were in hold, should be brought forth openly as malefactours, that (after a preposterous manner of Iudgement) a quest might passe on them. Then *Kett* openly, all men beholding him, went vpon the Oake (which they called the Oake of Reformation) and there sate downe: euery one of the prisoners in order were called by their names: then his manner was to inquire of his fauorites, and companions in that villanie, what they thought of them. The furious varlets being made Inquisitors, and Iudges of the liues of innocent men; if they found nothing of the man in question, cryed out, *A good man, hee is a good man*; and therefore ought to bee set at liberty. But if by the least suspicion of any small crime, his name that was named, was but once touched; or if any thing (though the least) were found wherein perhaps he had offended any one of them: some one (of the people) answered; whose voyce the other of the common sort followed, as it were stirred vp of the furies; *Let him bee hanged, Let him bee hanged:*

The order of trying innocent men.

hanged: although they were vtterly ignorant of the man in queſtion, whether white or black, old or yong (as one whoſe name was neuer heard of before) yet after this manner they were alwayes wont to cry out.

And in this manner theſe peſtilent Traytors, not led by iudgement or reaſon (leſt they ſhould be vnlike themſelues) but led by a certayne blinde and headlong rage of the minde, (as by a mighty Tempeſt) oftentimes with a word, and as it were with a madde nod of their furies, they inflicted moſt cruell puniſhment vpon innocent and iuſt men. And ſurely ſo great was the ſtrength of the diſeaſe, and as it were corruption that poſſeſſed the mindes of them all: as being almoſt without ſenſe, and through the crueltie of ſo great villany hardened; they violated all Lawes of God and Man, with their great fury and boldneſſe.

Not many dayes after, by the commandement of the King, authority was giuen vnto *William Pari* Marqueſſe of Northampton, to leuy an Armie of men, with commandement to goe in all haſte to the City of Norwich, and there to doe his indeuour: that becauſe theſe ſo great furies could not by clemency and lenity be appeaſed, to purſue with fire and ſword, *Ket* and his Confederates, as Traytors and moſt cruell Enemies to his Maieſtie. Northampton, all things prepared and made ready to his liking, with fifteene hundred Souldiers (as was commanded) goeth ſhortly after towards Norwich. *Northamptons Army.* 1500.

There were with him in his Armie two Lords, *Sheffield* and *Wentworth*, beſides, *Anthony Denny*, *Richard Southwel*, *Ralph Sadler*, *Iohn Gates*, *Thomas Paſton*, *Henry Bedingfield*, *Iohn Suliard*, *William Walgraue*, *Iohn Cuttze*, *Thomas Cornwallies*, all Knights; to theſe of Eſquires & Gentlemen aſwell of England as of Italy a worthy traine. When they were now but a mile from the City, the Marqueſſe of Northampton ſent preſently an Herald, which (as the manner is) ſhould denounce Warre to the City, except they would preſently obey. By whom al things which are accuſtomed to be done (being proclaymed and performed in the City) *Auguſtine Steward* the Maiors Deputy ſendeth ſpeedily Meſſengers, to ſignifie vnto *Lords. Knights. Gētlemen.*

Codde the Maior (who was, as we said before, most against his will detayned in the Campe) what commandements were imposed vpon the City in the Kings name by the Marqueſſe of Northampton. Hereunto ſpeedily anſwere from the Maior was returned to the Herald: That neuer any thing happened more grieuous vnto him al his life time, then theſe euils, which brought in of moſt ſeditious perſons, haue almoſt ouer-turned with an implacable villany his Country and City of Norwich, flouriſhing before. That (aſmuch as by mans reaſon could be foreſeene) hee had vſed all diligence that theſe tumults might haue been reſtrayned at the beginning: yet could he not bring to that paſſe, by reaſon of the rage of the miſchiefes, wherewith the mindes of all were holden intangled. That he had indured the terror of impriſonment, the perill of death, finally all extremity at their hands, and at this time was holden in the Campe, with a guard of Souldiers round about him. Otherwiſe he would come himſelfe without delay (as was meete) to the Marqueſſe of Northampton. Neuertheleſſe, that the City might be kept the better in order, he had giuen his authority of gouernement to *Auguſtine Steward*, a very carefull and wiſe man: leſt, in his abſence, the people through ignorance might fall away from their duty. That the City ſhould be at his commandement, and himſelfe (if *Kett* would permit) would willingly come out of the Campe and receiue him, and commit his owne, and the ſtate of the City to his protection. This anſwere of the Maior, was carryed with ſpeede by the Herald to the Earle of Northampton. The Maiors Deputy, with the Sheriſes, and a great multitude of Citizens following, went preſently into the Armie of Northampton, vnto whom he deliuered the Sword (which is a ſigne of the Kings Maieſties preſence, and of his Authority, and in the chiefe Cities of England is wont alwayes to bee carryed before the Maior) declaring as the Maior had done before, that hee could not come himſelfe (which he moſt deſired) but that he and the chiefe of the City were come to deliuer the City themſelues, and all that they had, vnto the faith, and authority of the King: they confeſſe there are many of the Citizens which could not be terri-

The Maiors anſwere.

The Maior kept by a guard in the Campe.

fied:

fied: but that they would needes consent to the Rebels: but yet the greatest part of the best Citizens doe remayne still in their faith, and allegeance, and haue not ioyned themselues with the others, nor in any respect haue conspired against the Kings Maiestie: and that this part is ready, and willing to doe that which shall be inioyned them and most willing to receiue him and his Armie into the City. Northampton againe incouraged the hearts of the Citizens with good words, and promised he would haue care of the City, and had good hope, that ere long these great furies, wherewith now almost all things were set on fire, should be suppressed. When he had made an end of speaking, he deliuered the Sword to *M. Southwel*, who carryed the same bare-headed before the Marquesse into the City. This honor by an old and solemne custome, is giuen alwayes to the Kings Lieutenants. And comming in at Saint *Stephens* Gate, he gaue commandement that all the Citizens should come vnto him into the Market place. There they long consulted, and many things of many were deuised, aswell for the defence of the City, as for restrayning the assault of the Enemie.

Then were appointed Watch and Ward vpon the Walles and Citie Gates. And in all places, if any were thought too weake, were appointed armed men that might be ready vpon euery occasion.

These things thus appointed and performed, Northampton went at night vnto the house of the Maiors Deputie, and supped there with his company of Nobles and Gentlemen: when supper was ended, although through the tediousnesse of the iourney, and heat of the weather, all in the house were weary, yet they rested that night in their Armour, lest they might be taken vnawares.

And here it came to passe, whether by chance, or of set purpose, I cannot yet tell, that certaine Italians skirmished with a great company of the Rebels; and many wounds were giuen on both sides: but one of the Spaniards, while he went very boldly into the middest of the Rebels, being a valiant man, first, the multitude beset him round, at the length they tooke

him,

him, and put him to a shamefull death: for taking away all his garments and furniture which were vpon him (very costly and cunningly wrought) they stripped him naked, and so hung him vpon an Oke in Mount Surry house, not without many reuilings, and shamefull contumelies before his death. All men surely tooke great griefe from so cruell, and miserable a death of such a worthy, and most noble Souldier; and would with a great summe of money willingly haue ransomed him (if it had been possible) from so cruell ignominie and shame. But from this mans calamitie now in the very beginning was easily perceiued, how great and detestable cruelty raigned in those, that had wickedly taken vp Armes against their Country: although not long after by the prouidence of God (for hee suffereth not the wicked to indure long, nor the shedding of innocent bloud alwaies to go vnreuenged) *Cayme* himselfe the Author of this dreadfull villany, with the same manner of death (though somewhat too late) receiued conding punishment of this so great cruelty.

Cayme the author of this murther.

But the Earle of *Northampton* fearing the breaking in of the enemie in the night, commanded that the Porters and Watchmen (which before wee said were bestowed vpon the Walles and Gates of the Citie) should now more painefully and diligently (then commonly they were wont) walke round about the Citie. Whereby both their eyes and minds prepared, and attending vpon the enterprises of the enemie, if peraduenture any tumultuous rage should be raised in the night, might easily with their helpe, and without any great adoe be met withall, and resisted. Which surely was faithfully performed by the Captaines ouer hundreds. And all the other souldiers watched in the Market place, where gathering great heapes of wood together, they set them on fire, lest if any thing should happen on the sudden, our men being hindred, by reason of the darkenesse of the night, and ignorance of the place, might be inclosed vnawares, by the practices of the enemies.

Edward Warner (one of the company of the Gentlemen) and at that time Gouernour ouer the souldiers (commonly called Marshall) gaue the Watchword. And vnto *Thomas Paston, Iohn*

Clere

Clere, William Walgrane, Thomas Cornwallis, Henry Bedingfield: men of approoued valour and wisdome, diuers parts of the Citie were disposed for the defence thereof, which tooke their charge, and with all their indeuour performed their parts valiantly, continually coursing from place to place, incouraging and animating our men: sometime with their words, sometime with their countenance, sometime with their owne trauell and labour. And thus by their wise counsels they preuented the pestilent enterprises of the Rebels.

All things now done to their liking, the Earle and all his company (they onely excepted, as was said before, to whom the care and defence of the Citie was committed) being wearied with three daies trauell, purposed now to take their rest. But when our men were in their sweete sleepe, and in the dead of the night, the Rebels, as if they should presently breake into the Citie, with a terrible peale of Ordinance, and most fearefull with out-cries, filled all places: Although by Gods prouidence it came to passe in this businesse, as the iron bullets discharged from the great Ordinance against the Citie, flying continually ouer our heads, did no great harme, whether it were by reason of the violent force of the powder mounting them, or the vnfaithfull hands of the Gunners, of set purpose leueling somewhat higher then was requisite (for there bee some that thinke the Gunners were corrupted with money) for the nonst. Which things verily while they were done after this manner (though alwaies without hurt) yet they were very often done of these vile and importune robbers, which with their continuall rushings, and horrible ecchoes, brought such a terrour, as our watchmen on the Walles, and keepers of the Gates cried often, *To your weapons*; which while they did many times (for the enemie neuer left raging) the Earle (which gaue charge, that if the Rebels should tumultuously in the night attempt any thing against the Citie, he should haue knowledge, being awaked by one of the Captaines) came presently into the Market place, garded with his Nobles & Gentlemen that were with him. Afterward, the better to prouide for the fewnesse, and seldome returne of the souldiers, and that the Citie

Some think Ketts Gunners corrupted.

might be the eafier defended, they tooke this Counſell, that all the Gates that were on the other ſide of the City from the enemy, and the breaches of the walles ſhould be blocked vp, ſuppoſing that ſo, neither the ſouldiers ſhould be wanting to defend the Walles, if the Forces were drawne to a neerer ſtraite, and the Enemy (without danger) might be driuen from enterance into the City.

While matters began thus to bee ordered, and were almoſt brought to an end: The Rebels all at once, as a violent ſtreame, came running from their dens with confuſed cries, and beaſtly howlings, and ran into the Citie. There ſome goe about to ſet the Gates on fire, and to hew them downe: others clime vp vpon the Walles, ſome ſwim through the Riuer; many conuey themſelues into the Citie by the lower places, and breaches of the old Walles. On the other ſide, our men begin to practiſe all meanes againſt them, and to reſiſt with all violence, and repulſed valiantly the enemy on euery ſide, being already entred into the Citie, and manfully driue them backe (now comming, and flocking thither) and with Pikes, Arrowes, Swords, and other inſtruments of warre put them to flight, and brought the matter to that paſſe, as the force of their incurſions by little and little being broken, and cut off, they began ſomewhat to wauer and doubt of the matter. But the fight was on both ſides, with moſt inflamed minds (cruell, fierce and bloudie) while theſe by force (if by any other way) goe about to conuey themſelues into the Citie, and our men indeuour to put them from all entrance. Therefore by the ſpace almoſt of three howers, they fought with moſt deadly hatred betweene themſelues, and the battell was performed more fiercely in diuers parts of the Citie, then a man would beleeue or thinke; euen with ſo dangerous, and doleſull an euent, as except the exceeding deſire of our men to fight, and the worthy valour of *Paſton*, *Walgraue*, and the reſt of the Gentlemen, had remained inuincible; that night without doubt, had been vnto vs all the moſt miſerable night that euer was. For the minds of the Rebels were ſo ſet on fire, and incenſed, and the deſire to fight ſo exceeding, as, although they were fallen downe deadly wounded,

A fearefull fight in the night.

Deſperate rage.

ded, yet would they not giue ouer, but halfe dead, drowned in their owne, and other mens bloud, euen to the laſt gaſpe, furiouſly withſtood our men. Yea, many alſo ſtrooken thorow the breſts with ſwords, and the ſynewes of their thighes and hammes cut aſunder (I tremble to rehearſe it) yet creeping on their knees, were mooued with ſuch helliſh furie, as they wounded the buttocks and thighes of our ſouldiers, lying amongſt the ſlaine almoſt without life. But our men perceiuing at the length the force of the enemie to abate and weaken, ruſhed vpon them with ſuch violence, as they could no longer abide the fight, nor ſtand to reſiſt: but their forces being ouerthrowne, and beaten downe on euery ſide, with a mightie ſlaughter, they were chaced, and driuen out of the Citie, (for three hundred fell in that fight) and betooke themſelues againe to their filthy dens and caues. The battell ended, few of our men were found dead, but many wounded. And now at the laſt, being ſecure from all practices of the enemy, the reſt of that night that remained (and there remained but little) they gaue vnto their reſt.

300. *Rebels ſlaine in fight.*

In the Morning, aſſoone as it was day, certaine of the Citizens ſignified vnto the Earle of Northampton, that there were many of the Rebels in *Ketts* Campe, whoſe furie was greatly abated, and the heate of their rage quenched; theſe eaſily, and without any great adoe, might bee perſwaded, that forſaking that curſed fellowſhip of deſperate perſons, they would ſuffer themſelues to be drawne to the remembrance of their duties, and more wholſome counſell; for they were wearie of the wickedneſſe they had long committed: and there were now abiding at Pockthorpe Gates, foure or fiue thouſand men, which waite for nothing elſe, and deſire nothing more then peace and pardon. Which if now at the laſt might be offered vnto them by him, they hoped that forthwith they would caſt off their weapons, and commit themſelues to the Kings fauor and mercie.

The Earle from this meſſage conceiued ſingular ioy and gladneſſe, as one that had rather obtaine an eaſie and vnbloudie victorie, then (although they were Rebels, and

guiltie) a wofull, and imbrued with Ciuill bloud. Therefore he ſendeth the Herald preſently with a Trumpetter, commanding him to promiſe vpon the faith of the Kings Maieſtie, that all ſhall eſcape without puniſhment that wil forſake their Armes. Theſe comming ſpeedily to Pockethorpe Gates, found none there notwithſtanding: yet the Herald gaue a ſigne by a Trumpet. Whereat, when they came flocking (from the Campe) downe the hill: Hee beholding one *Flotman*, a fierce and cruell fellow (for hee as principall came downe the hill) with a loud voice, commanded him to ſtand. Who demanding what the matter was, and why they drew them to parlie by the ſound of a Trumpet. The Herald anſwered:

GOe thy way (ſaith hee) *and declare vnto thy company from the Earle of Northampton, Gouernour of the Kings forces, that the Kings Maieſtie doth command and admoniſh them, that now at the length they would repent, and make an end of theſe ſo great outrages: which, if they will doe, they ſhall be in ſafetie, and by his clemencie free from perill, and no man to be charged with the villanie they haue committed.*

Flotman an Arch-Rebell.

Hereunto *Flotman* (as hee was a man alwaies of a voluble tongue, and ready by nature to ſpeake reprochfully) is reported to haue anſwered arrogantly and threatningly.

AS concerning the Earle of Northampton, he made no reckoning of him, a man of no courage, nor counſell, nor good ſucceſſe, but deſpiſed, and mortally hated him as infamous, light and vile, and alwaies ſtanding in need of others helpe: finally, one ſtained with all diſloialtie, and filthineſſe of treaſon. They (for their parts) had alwaies been earneſt defenders of the Kings ſafetie and dignitie, and of his Progenitors, and would be euer of that mind to ſpend, for his welfare, all their goods and fortunes. They had taken Armes not againſt the King, but for thoſe things which they hoped ſhould be hereafter for his, and their welfare. Neither were they guiltie in conſcience, either of wickednеſſe conceiued in heart, or ſtained with treaſon againſt his Maieſty. For what elſe do they

but

but defend the Kings name and dignitie; prouide for the common ſafetie; defend the lawes and liberties thereof: preſerue themſelues, their wiues, childrn and goods, and finally deliuer the Common-wealth (vexed many waies vniuſtly) from the deteſtable pride, luſt, and crueltie of their enemies? Wherefore being void of offence, ſo ought they to be free from puniſhment. For whereas that gorgious proclaimer, blazed with golden Armes, had colourably propounded vnto them of late, certaine notable and large offers, it was vndoubtedly done to this end; that either vnder the trecherous conditions of peace, he might reſtraine their indeuour of recouering their libertie, or elſe being depriued of thoſe good meanes wherewith they were now furniſhed, and ſo ſhut from all defence, he might deliuer them vp to moſt cruell beaſts to bee deuoured. Let them therefore (quoth he) that haue offended, receiue the promiſe of impunitie for all vs. We that are defended with theſe weapons, and our owne innocency, are ſecure and in ſafetie, and haue purpoſed neuer to craue mercie of any man. For we are to reſtore to her former dignitie the Common-wealth, now almoſt vtterly ouerthrowne, and daily declining (and inforced through the inſolencie of the Gentlemen) out of her miſerable ruines, wherein ſhe hath long continued, either by theſe courſes, or elſe (as become valiant men, and ſuch as are indued with courage) fighting boldly (with the perill of our liues) to dye in battell, and neuer to betray our libertie, though it may bee oppreſſed.

Reſolution is good in a iuſt cauſe, not in Rebellion.

This moſt vile Traytor of all men liuing, had ſcarce made an ende of his furious ſpeech, when on the ſudden vnlooked for, a fearefull crie went through the Citie, and horrible ſpeeches were heard of men afraid, crying, *To your VVeapons, To your VVeapons*, which filled euery mans eares in all places. For at this inſtant, while theſe things were thus in doing at Pockethorpe Gates, the Rebels ſtirred vp with a moſt deſperate rage, and impudent boldneſſe, were broken in at the Hoſpitall Meddowes; deſtroying, and waſting with Sword and Fire, as they went: But they were met withall ſpeedily of our men, in the Plaine againſt the Biſhop of Norwich

140. *Rebels ſlaine.*

his Palace; and there was a long and hot skirmish, in which place about one hundred and fortie of the enemies were slaine, and some of our Souldiers, and many on both sides grieuously wounded.

But the miserable death of the Lord *Sheffield* was lamented and pittyed of all men. Who (as it came to passe) while he was more mindfull of his birth and dignitie, then of his safetie, swift, and fierce, and desirous of performing the worke he had in hand, setting vpon the thickest of the Enemies, and fighting too boldly and carelesly, by chance in his swift course, fell from his horse headlong into a ditch, where this Noble man was most cruelly slaine of a villainous murderer. And when hee besought him and his company (by all meanes possible, as by promising great rewards, by signifying his Nobilitie, and the account of his name) to spare his life: yet was it far off, that either the man, or his name, could moue any compassion, as they grew the more cruell. And after, they contended among themselues for the glorie and commendation of this villany (seldome heard of) as of a most noble act. So all of them boyled in minde, as it came almost to blowes, while on both sides the desire of commendation and vaine-glorie carryed them, which seemed to bee due vnto him, that gaue that fatall and deadly wound vnto this worthy Noble man; but by the opinion of them all, *Fulke* carryed away the praise, which openly protested (calling God to witnesse) that he gaue him his deadly wound with his Clubbe. And *Fulke* himselfe not long after (by the iust iudgement of God) was payed home: a iust recompence for so great villany. But surely it cannot be told how much alwaies it auaileth on either side to the victorie, the death and ouerthrow of excellent Personages: for the enemy taking knowledge of this so lamentable chance, beganne to be more hostile and ready to make warre. But on the other side, the hearts of our men discouraged, beganne to languish. Insomuch as the Rebels puffed vp with exceeding ioy, making a mighty Alarme on euery side, as hauing alreadie gotten the victorie, rushed into the City (by what way they could get in) following vpon our men, and as mortall

L. Sheffield slaine.

Trayters without naturall affection.

mortall enemies set vpon them, who partly ouer-charged with the multitude (for they were almost twenty thousand; & ours were only one thousand and fiue hundred) & (partly strooken with the death of this Noble yong Gentleman) went out of the City, and (escaping by diuers iourneys through by-waies, hiding themselues all the night in Caues, Groues, and woods) returned at the length all of them to London. But the Citizens loden and ouer-whelmed with so many euils, when all places were now filled with Enemies, fearing violence and murther, and all hostilitie, which is accustomed to be done of Enemies to Cities ouer-come, and all hope of redresse being taken away, fled out of the Citie. All mens hearts, for the most part, were smitten with so great feare, as many (through sorrow and anguish) hauing their minds alienated from the regard of their goods, left their wiues and children, and all their possessions, in the power of the Enemie. But many, when all mens conditions were lamentable, followed euery man his owne hope and aduice: for whatsoeuer gold, siluer, plate, or good household stuffe they possessed; that they hid in Priuies, Welles, and Pits digged in the ground. Sorrow and lamentation occupied the Citie on euery side. And the crying of Women and Children, mixed with the shouting of the Enemies, cracking of the fire, and fall of the houses, filled all places with an horrible noyse. For the Rebels, after the departure of the Earle of Northampton, threw fire vpon the tops of the houses, which did flye from house to house with fearefull flame, and from one street to another, which in small time consumed a great part of the Citie. For all the houses in Holme-street were consumed with fire on both sides thereof. Also the Hospitall dedicated to the relieue and maintenance of the poore diseased. Moreouer, Bishops Gates, Pock Thorpe, Magdelyn, Bearstreet Gates, and diuers other buildings besides in many places, were consumed with fire. But it happened fitly by Gods speciall prouidence, that there fell great store of raine at that time. Whereby the fire being speedily quenched, did not so generally preuaile as the Enemie wished. Moreouer, the Rebels entred the houses of the rich men in the Citie, and rifled them, and after they

The Rebels are 20000. ours but 1500.

The City in a miserable case.

Rebels fire the City.

Holmstreet & Hospital with diuers Gates burnt.

Gods prouidence.

they had emptied them, ſet ſome of them on fire, and committed ſo great and ſundry examples of curſed cruelty: as euery where it ſeemed at this time, not men indued with reaſon, were entred the City: but wilde beaſts vnder the ſhape of men. Whence manifeſtly appeareth, how lamentable and miſerable the ſtate of the City was at this time: when nothing was ſeene or heard; but lamentation and weeping, of thoſe that were vexed and troubled: and contrary, the reioycing of the Enemy, the weeping of women, the crying of men, and the noiſe of them that ran about the ſtreets, then the claſhing of weapons, the flames of the burning, the ruines and fall of houſes, and many other fearefull things (which that I may not make leſſe in ſpeaking) I willingly let paſſe, which ſo filled with horrour not onely the mindes, and eyes of the beholders; but ſtrooke with incredible ſorrow the hearts and eares of all that heard it.

The City therefore taken after this ſort, by the conſpirators, ſet on fire, ſpoyled and waſted, when deſolation occupied all places euery where (except the enemies) for they that remained in the City, ſhutting their gates and doores, hid themſelues in the moſt ſecret places of their houſes. The Maiors Deputy alone, as it were reſerued to behold the miſerable ſpectacle of his Counties downefall, void of all aduice and helpe, when he beheld, from the vpper part of his houſe, all things conſumed with fire, and ruinated: ſuppoſing the enemies, as they had brought deſtruction vpon the houſes, would not long after offer violence, and death vnto men, ſhutting his doores, kept himſelfe within his houſe. But the power of the enemies, in the meane time waxing great, and gathering a band of men together: they broke into the City, at Saint *Auguſtines* gates, and all of them being armed with clubs, and ſuch weapons as euery mans lotte could afford him: they came running vnto the houſe of the Maiors Deputie, and aſſayed to breake vp the doores: at length when they began to ſet them on fire, hee being greatly afraide (for all his ſeruants were fled from him) himſelfe alone vnſhut the gates: whom preſently they tooke, and plucked off his gowne (which hee vſed at that time) calling

Auguſtine Stewards houſe abuſed.

ling him Rebel; and threatning him a moſt ſhameful death, except he would tel them in what place the Earle of Northampton was hidden: when he anſwered, They were all departed.

All of them tooke that anſwer, with great indignation and outcryes, moſt tumultuouſly ruſhing with all violence into his houſe, they ſearched ſuriouſly all the corners thereof. Afterward turning to the prey, they depart loaden with the ſpoyle. But many (being reſtrained partly by reaſon of money, and other things which they receiued of the Deputy: and partly by the ſpeech of a certaine perſon, which ſaid vnto them, ſuch doings were intolerable: yea, theft and villanie; by all kind of puniſhment to be reuenged and repreſſed) brought againe their packes and burthens, which they had carryed away before, and laide them in the ſhops and warehouſes. Neuertheleſſe many of the Citizens, into whoſe houſes the Rebels had entred, onely vnder pretence of ſeeking the Earle of Northampton, were vtterly robbed of all that euer they had. Chiefly they ſpoyled their houſes, which were gone out of the City, proclaiming them Rebels, and open enemies to the Kings Maieſty; and therefore their goods to bee confiſcate. Notwithſtanding, ſome of the Citizens tooke order, there ſhould be deliuered to the furious multitude, bread & drinke, and all kinde of victuall, whereby it came to paſſe, that the miſerable and hungry people being pacified, they were ſomewhat ſtayed from the rage of ſpoyling. Neuertheleſſe, very many (vpon this ſodaine calamity) ſuſtained great loſſe and iniury; and were ſo ouercharged with ſuch great expenſes, that euer after while they liued (and many liue at this day) in their houſhold affaires, fared the worſe. In the meane ſeaſon, the remembrance of future times (as it ſeemed) came into the mindes of the Rebels. Wherefore being now turned from violence, they beginne to thinke of their owne ſafety: therefore they commanded the Maiors Deputy, and the chiefe of the City: that watch and ward ſhould be kept from houſe to houſe, by the Citizens euery day at all the gates of the City, which if they ſhall refuſe to doe, they threaten death and grieuous torments.

Christs Church abused of Rebels.

Moreouer in the Temple (which is fearefull to tell) in the Temple of the great God, the Rebels (as oft as it rained) placed the tents of their furies. And so farre grew their malapertnesse, boldnesse, and desire of ouerturning of things: as neither the speeches of the wise, nor the feare of Gods vengeance, nor the teares and lamentations of women, could remoue them from their villanies. For the women (when they saw the slaughter of harmelesse naked men) oft times offered themselues in the streets; intreating them to haue compassion, vpon their Countrey, vpon them, their husbands and children, and remember that they were men themselues, begotten of men, and that they had reuenged themselues sufficiently vpon those, for whose cause they took vp Armes: that they would at last cast a bridle vpon their rage; so should they obtaine without doubt peace and pardon, and all good things else of the Kings Maiesty: but (as wee saide before) neither threatnings, nor the counsell of the wise, nor flattering prayers, nor any thing else could restraine them from so great rage of villanie, vntill they had brought a miserable destruction vpon the Country, and drawne vpon themselues at last, an ende worthy such wickednesse. For the King, after hee vnderstood that his Maiesty was daily more and more despised, the company of lewd persons to increase, all things confounded with this execrable and raging tumult, the clemency of the King set at nought, and now no place left for mercy, soft medicines to auaile nothing at all, their mindes to be without cure, and infected with deadly pestilence: Finally, all hope of recouery taken vtterly away: but onely that which consisted in force, and seuerity of punishment, hee thought good to put this first in execution.

The women intreate.

Rebels inexorable.

Wherfore in the County of Lyncolne, & other shires of the Kings Kingdome, he commandeth, and appointeth a muster, and presse of Souldiers. Also a great number of Swyssers to be sent for, supposing (as the thing required) that this wicked rout, and their followers, ought to be vtterly taken away by the sword. Otherwise, if it should spread further, and infect the neighbour Countrey people, with the contagion of this villanie,

nie, it could very hardly be ſtayed, when the heat of that infection had ſpred further, and fallen as it were, into the veynes and bowels of the Kingdome, and had incloſed all the parts thereof, with that deadly flame of diſloyalty.

Vnto this army was *Iohn Dudley*, Earle of Warwick, a man of great Nobility, and marueilous courage, appointed Lieutenant, and vnto him the chiefe ſoueraignety is committed, by Letters and Commandements from the King. At that time the opinion (by the report of all men for the moſt part) was receiued among our Countreymen of him: that this Noble man was of ſuch Magnanimity, and experience in Martiall affaires: as it was thought the Rebels ſhould be ſuppreſſed by him, or elſe ſurely put to flight by none. *Earle of Warwick appointed Lieutenant*

Therefore theſe ſpeeches of the Kings preparation and power being diſperſt abroade, and entring the eares of the common people, came at the length vnto the hearing of the Campe. And when they vnderſtood of a ſurety that they were muſtered, and a Captayne, Armour, Bands of men, and all inſtruments for the terror of Warre, prouided againſt them to bee readie, and at hand: they beganne euery day to fortifie themſelues, and to looke about for all things neceſſary, and to trayne themſelues, that they might bee the more able to make reſiſtance. So farre was it from them, that either reaſon could mitigate their crueltie and boldneſſe, or terror breake their ſtout mindes. *The Rebels fortifie.*

To this end, when ſome of the Citizens obſerued that many things were done euery day more tumultuouſly, fearing all violence, ſlaughter, robberie, burning, and a lamentable ouer-throwing of all things: At the length (leſt if they ſhould abide in the Citie, they might be conſtrayned to be on the Rebels ſide) gathering all their goods together in heaps, aſmuch as they could conueniently, and hiding them in the ground, or elſe by Maſons helpe, couering them with lime and ſtone, they fled priuily in the night out of the Citie. *Citizens flye the City*

The Earle of Warwick, after he had furniſhed himſelfe with Souldiers at home, and from beyond the Seas, with Money, Weapons, and all things neceſſary for the Warres, departeth

from London, accompanyed with all his forces.

There were in that Armie the Marqueſſe of Northampton, (who of late had the Gouernement of the Warres againſt the Campe) *Ambroſe* and *Robert Dudley*, Warwicks ſonnes, *Willoughby Poyſi*, *Bray*, and many other noble and famous Captaynes, beſides of Knights, Eſquires, and Gentlemen: of the Switſers, and of all kinde of common Souldiers, about foureteene thouſand. When they came to Cambridge, ſome of the Aldermen of the Citie of Norwich, and other of the Citizens met with Warwick at the Townes end. Which Citizens (as we ſaid before) being afraid and aſtoniſhed at the feareſull and mad boldneſſe of the Conſpirators, had fled the City. Theſe pale and forlorne, and falling vpon their knees, caſt themſelues euery one at his feet, and with weeping, & lamentable voice, beganne earneſtly to intreat him, that he would lay no grieuous thing to their charge; for they were innocent perſons, and guiltie of no crime. Yet they beſought the mercy and fauour of the Prince: For they had verily conceiued an incredible griefe of this miſerable deſtruction, and ſpoile of their Countrey, and had further indured all extremitie at the Rebels hands. In the end to prouide for their liues, they were conſtrayned to flye the City, and with ſword and fire were caſt out, not only from the City, but from their wiues and children, and all their friends. In ſo great miſery wherewith they were preſſed on euery ſide; they craue nothing elſe, but if in this common and exceeding feare, through ignorance and folly, vnwittingly they haue wrapped themſelues in any offence, the ſame might not be imputed vnto them, but vpon their repentance and humble petition it might be pardoned.

Warwicks Army 4000.

Citizens ſuit to Warwick.

His anſwer.

Hereunto Warwick anſwered, that he perceiued how great perill they were in, and that without doubt the ſtrength of thoſe deſperat men was great, which had driuen them from all theſe things as deare vnto them as life it ſelfe: Affirming, that they had done nothing amiſſe to his knowledge. In that they had left the Citie in ſo great feare and danger, it was but the infirmitie of man, and to be borne withall. Notwithſtanding in one thing they were ſomewhat ouer-ſeene, that they with-

ſtood

ſtood not theſe euils in the very beginning: for a few valiant and wiſe men might haue diſpatched thoſe companies in a moment, if while the matter was in the beginning, they had oppoſed themſelues for the health of their Countrey. Notwithſtanding he granted pardon at their requeſt, and offered the Kings fauour to them all, willing them, when they haue furniſhed themſelues with weapons, and with the furniture of Souldiers, to be in a readineſſe to follow the Hoſt, hauing Laces about their necks, to bee diſcerned from the reſt. Theſe things done after this manner, he departeth from Cambridge: And the tenth of the Kalends of September hee came with all his Armie to Intwood. Intwood is diſtant from Norwich about two miles. There *Thomas Greſham* Knight had a faire and large houſe, where Warwick abode that day and the night following with his companie. All the men notwithſtanding were armed and ready to the battell, if peraduenture the Enemie ſhould rayſe vp any tumult on the ſudden; which ſurely beheld from the holes in the Walles and Towers what ſhould be done. Warwick in the meane ſeaſon, while (as is ſaid before) hee made his abode with all his Armie at Intwood, ſendeth his Herald, which in the name of the King (as the manner is) proclaymeth warre againſt the City and Citizens, except forthwith they ſet open the Gates, and admit the Kings power into the Citie.

Laces for diſtinction.

The 23. of Auguſt.

Kett, when he vnderſtood that the Herald was come to the Gates, willed *Auguſtine Steward* the Maiors Deputie, and *Robert Rugge*, chiefe men of the Citie to goe vnto him, and inquire what hee demanded. Theſe being let out at a back gate, the matter being vnderſtood, made anſwere to the Herald, That they counted themſelues the miſerableſt men aliue, which had indured ſo many and great diſcomfitures both in minde and body, as at the remembrance thereof all the parts of their body tremble. Neuertheleſſe, this one thing was added vnto the reſt, which increaſed the height of their calamity, griefe, and ſhame; becauſe that fidelity which they ought, and earneſtly deſired to performe to his Maieſtie, they were not able to fulfill at this time, and iudged themſelues the vnhap-

Braſen doore.

pieſt that liued in this age, wherein they were euer compelled,
Two great extremities either to vndergoe the danger of their life, or the hazard of their dignitie. Notwithſtanding, they hoped well of the Kings Maieſtie, as thoſe which had no wayes bound themſelues in any conſent of theſe villanies, but had reſtrayned (as much as was in them) the reſt of the Citizens, with great loſſe of their goods, and euer with an incredible danger of their liues. Moreouer, they moſt humbly beſought this one thing of the Earle, that becauſe there were in the City an innumerable company of *Ketts* Campe, vnarmed, poore, and naked, (who beſides that through feare and conſcience of their owne wickedneſſe were holden guilty: Moreouer, were weary of this curſed ſociety, as which had filled the very deſire of working miſchiefe with the ſacietie of their furies) it would pleaſe him once againe, to trie that which hath been often prooued in vaine: ſignifying, that they greatly hoped (if at this time might be offered vnto them againe the hope of impunitie) it would come to paſſe, that forthwith they would lay downe their weapons,
A glory exceeding all Victory. without ſlaughter and bloudſhed. Which thing (if it might come to paſſe) would be an eternall memorie vnto poſteritie, and a glory exceeding all victorie, if they might carry home peace, and their weapons vnſtained with the bloud of ciuill diſſention.

The Herald preſently departeth from the Maiors ſpeech into Warwicks Campe, declaring all things as hee had receiued. The Earle, vnto whom nothing was more precious (if by any meanes it could bee brought to paſſe) then that this flame ſo dangerous and dreadfull, might be quenched without ſlaughter and bloudſhed, decreed himſelfe alſo the aduice in this matter, that it ſhould not be meaſured according to the villanies they had committed, but according to the dignitie of the King, and the vtilitie of the Kingdome.

He feared moreouer, leſt the Gentlemen that were holden bound in the Caſtle, and other Priſons, euery day toſſed, and
Roger Woodhouſe vſed cruelly. turmoiled with the great waues of feare, at the length might be cruelly ſlaine of them. For many were threatned death euery houre; and many, chiefly *Roger Woodhouſe*, Knight, was

conti-

continually reuiled with contumelious ſpeeches, vpon whom, without all doubt, they exerciſed the vnſatiable crueltie of their minds, vexing and abuſing him. For theſe cauſes therefore, it pleaſed him to prooue, whether now at the length, by the hope of pardon and impunity, they might be drawne from the errour of their miſchiefe.

To this end, the Herald was preſently ſent, with a Trumpeter, who entring into the Citie, were met with fortie of the Rebels, marching two and two together (for they were Horſemen) with great ioy and loud cries, from Saint *Stephens* Gates to the Biſhops Palace. From thence the Trumpeter ſounding his Trumpet, gaue a ſigne: whereat, when great routs of Rebels came flocking by heapes vnto them from the hill: The Horſemen with a ſwift courſe ranne vnto them, commanding, that diuiding themſelues, the one halfe ſhould ſtand in ranke right ouer againſt the other in order. Which when they had preſently done, the Herald with his Trumpeter, and two other of the principall of the Citie, going in the midſt betweene the rankes of the Rebels, were receiued on euery ſide with great ſhouts and outcries. For euery one vncouering their heads, as it were with one mouth and conſent all at once (for the moſt part) cried, *God ſaue King Edward, God ſaue King Edward*: becommended therefore of the Herald, and chiefe of the Citie, and willed to keepe their order awhile, as they were appointed of late. The Herald, when in this ſort hee had paſſed betweene them two hundred and fiftie paces, at the length came vnto the top of the hill, hauing on his rich Coate of Armes, as ſolemne enſignes of his Office. There he ſtaied awhile (for *Kett* was not yet come) at the laſt hee ſpake after this manner.

THey were not ignorant from the firſt time euer ſince they had wickedly taken vp Armes againſt their Countrie; how many, and ſundry waies by all meanes poſſible, labour and ſtudy, the Kings Maieſtie had imploied his care, to the ende to bring them from the crueltie of thoſe villanies, whereby they haue violated all Lawes of God and men, to ſome conſideration of their duties, and The Heralds oration.

regard

regard of their owne safetie; and had sent vnto them messengers and Proclaimers of Peace, not once, but often, againe and againe. Notwithstanding, they regarded not, but euer despised; and by all meanes misused them, through their detestable madnesse and disloyaltie. But (now in the sight of God) whither would they rush? whither would they throw both themselues headlong, and their goods with deadly furie? what measure would they put to their most trecherous madnesse? or what ende of their most filthie counsels? How long being stirred vp through pestilent lusts, which false and idle confidence of liuing better, had once suffered to enter into their minds, would they pursue alwaies with deadly folly? How long would they adorne with counterfeit titles the most foule impietie of mischieuous treason? How long would they wrappe in the garments of vertue, horrible filthinesse, and deceiueable villanies? Finally, how long would they be holden bound with the mortall desire of those things, which, if it were lawfull for them to obtaine, the destruction of the Common-wealth would insue presently, much more intolerable and lamentable? but rather now at the last, they should looke about them awhile, and apply both their minds and vnderstanding, and mark thorowly with more intentiue eyes, their Common-wealth, of which in all their talke, no lesse foolishly, then wickedly and vngodly they are wont to boast of. Surely then may easily be seene, whether they be faithful subiects, and worthy the name of good Citizens, which haue taken vp hostile Armes against the Kings Maiestie, which haue gathered together routs of wicked men, despised and vile, which haue brought vpon their Countrie (the common Parent of vs all) vngodly, and sacrilegious hands: which haue let in the scumme of the people, and the vilest of all mortall men (cast out, for the most part, of all English Societies) into the Common-wealth, to the destruction of the good, and ouerthrow of the Kingdome; which haue defaced, with merciless fire, the greatest part of this most worthie Citie; which hath laid in most filthie Prison and Bands, many worthy and excellent persons, and haue slaine some with most extreme torture; which haue vtterly emptied the best furnished houses, and polled, and shauen the neighbour Villages; which haue alienated to their owne vse, the goods of many (of late rich men, but now through their crueltie, miserable

ſerable and needie) and carried them into their wretched Campe by moſt cruell robberies: which haue forged fained Lawes, falſe Letters and Commiſſions in the Kings name: which haue prophaned the Temple of the great and mighty God; ouerthrowne the houſes of priuate men; waſted, and ſpoiled the fields on euery ſide: which haue conuerted all their thought, ſtudies, and enterpriſes to deſtruction, ſlaughter, waſting, burning and ſtealing? Finally, which knew nothing remaining, whither the rage and madneſſe of their furie could further carrie them: but either their riotous luſts vtterly deuoured, or their filthie importunitie ſcattered abroad. When they ſee themſelues bound by theſe ſo many, ſo great, and ſo horrible pollutions of wickedneſſe, to God, the King, and the Common-wealth, and when now they ſee all their goods and ſubſtance to be brought into that place, and ſo confiſcate and loſt, that to bee in a worſe condition then now they are in (for they are in the worſt) they cannot be, if they would, then let them thinke with themſelues, into how large a Sea of euils they haue throwne themſelues headlong, and let them thinke what they may feare, ouer whoſe heads alwaies hangeth the iuſt wrath of God (which ſurely by no meanes can be auoided) and the ineuitable power of the King offended and diſpleaſed. For his Maieſtie had decreed, not to ſuffer any longer theſe ſo great euils to abide in the bowels of his Kingdome, neither to leaue any longer vnpuniſhed, and vnreuenged, this ſo brutiſh crueltie, and intolerable boldneſſe. And therfore hath choſen the Earle of Warwicke, (a man of renowned Honour, and of great name, and vnto this worke appointed Generall from his Maieſtie) who muſt purſue them with fire and ſword: and hath further inioyned him neuer to leaue off, vntill hee hath vtterly rooted out that curſed and horrible company. Notwithſtanding, ſuch is his great bountie and clemencie, that whom he hath appointed reuenger of this deſperate & wicked rout (if they perſeuere) the ſame alſo he would haue, to be (if they ſhall doe otherwiſe) a meſſenger and miniſter of his mercie: The which, except they would imbrace at this time, refuſing all miniſter aduice, Warwicke hath moſt ſolemnly ſworne, ſhall neuer hereafter be offered vnto any of them again: but (as he was commanded of the King) he would purſue with fire and ſword all the companions of that moſt pernitious conſpiracy, the officers, miniſters and abetters thereof, as the moſt peſtilet enemies to the Kings Maieſty: neither would he make an end of purſuing them, vntil they (which had defiled all places with their new, vnheard of, and vnpardonable treaſon, and had drowned themſelues in ſuch furious waues of wickednes) had receiued condigne puniſhment of God and the King.

When he had made an end, although many were very doubtfull of the euent of things and trembled: what for the guilt of Conscience, and remembrance of their wretchednesse: yet neuertheleſſe all of them (for the moſt part) being grieuouſly offended with his ſpeech; ſo inwardly burned in minde, as preſently they reuiled the Herald on euery ſide, with ſhouts and curſings: ſome calling him Traytor, not ſent from the King: but had receiued his leſſon from the Gentlemen, and ſuborned by them, to bring them aſleepe with flattering words, and fairer promiſes to deceiue them in the end, whereby napping as it were, and careleſſe, they might the eaſier bee taken, while they feared no ſuch things. Others ſaid, that pardon in appearance ſeemed good and liberall, but in truth would proue in the ende lamentable and deadly, as that which would be nothing elſe; but Barrels filled with Ropes and Halters. And that painted coate diſtinct, and beautified with gold; not to bee Enſignes of an Herald: but ſome peeces of Popiſh Coapes ſewed together. Many things beſides (in their peſtilent madneſſe, turbulent and headlong) raging, and furiouſly they laid vpon him, while euery one round about powred forth the bitterneſſe of their venome, in moſt cruell ſpeeches, ſauoring of death it ſelfe. Notwithſtanding, the Herald goeth from thence with *Kett*, into another place, where hee proclaimeth the ſame thing to the reſt of the people (for before, all could not heare for preſſe.)

Rebels to the Herald.

It happened before he had made an end of his ſpeech, that an vngracious boy, putting downe his breeches, ſhewed his bare buttocker, and did a filthy act: adding therunto more filthy words. At the indignity wherof, a certaine man being moued (for ſome of our men were on the riuer, which came to behold) with a bullet from a Piſtoll, gaue the boy ſuch a blowe vpon the loines, that ſodainly ſtrooke him dead. Which when the Traitours perceiued, there came twelue of the horſemen moſt furiouſly courſing out of the Wood, & crying: *O my companions, we are betrayed. Do you not ſee our fellow Souldiers cruelly ſlaine before our eyes, and ſhot thorow? what ſhall wee hope for, being diſperſed, and vnarmed, when yet being in armes, violence is offered? For ſurely this Herald intendeth nothing elſe, but we being incloſed, all of vs on euery ſide with traynes, and weakned, may moſt cruelly be ſlaine of the Gentlemen.*

boyly cke iuſtly niſhed.

When he had ſpoken theſe words, they were all ſcattered (and as it were ſtirred vp with a certaine rage) they fled aſunder. Notwithſtanding,

ſtanding, *Kett* ioyned himſelfe with the Herald, and minded to haue ſpoken with Warwicke, face to face: but now when they were almoſt come to the bottome of Sturt hill, a mighty rout of Rebels followed him with cries, inquiring all at once whither hee went, ſaying, they were willing to vndergoe with him what fortune ſoeuer (though neuer ſo ſharpe) and if he would needs goe any further, he ſhould haue them his companions and partners, both in life and death. The Herald, when hee looked behinde him, and ſaw ſuch a company of men following, willed *Kett* to goe backe againe, and and ſtay this concourſe, and tumult: who being returned to his Company, they were preſently quiet, and went backe all of them againe into the Campe. *Kett w haue ſp with W wicke.*

But the Earle of Warwicke, when hee perceiued that they were all carried headlong (with a certaine frenzy, and as it were, a blinde rage of the minde) to deſtruction: and that neither by intreaty or faire promiſes; nor yet by the feare of puniſhment, they could bee wonne to ceaſe from their filthy enterprize: It ſeemed beſt vnto him, to leaue off for euer the hope of peace: a thing aſwell by himſelfe, as by others often proued in vaine, and now at the length to deale by open warre. Therefore, he leadeth his army to Saint *Stephens* gates, which the enemies had ſhut vp, letting downe the Portcullis, and he commanded the Kings maſter Gunner, to place the Ordinance before the gates, that being throwne downe and battered, way might be made for the ſouldiers to enter the City. Which while they were about to doe, the Earle had knowledge from *Auguſtine Steward*, the Maiors Deputy: that there was a gate not farre off, which the common people call Brazen doore. This the enemy had made faſt with great beames, and peeces of timber, and rampired vp with ſtones and earth; notwithſtanding, with no labour might eaſily be ſhaken and broken downe. The Pyoners are ſought for; & Commandement giuen to breake vp the gates, which broke open, there they firſt entred the City, and killing many, they eaſily remoue the enemy from that place. And now the Maſter Gunner had ſhottred and broken the Port-cullis at Saint *Stephens* gates, and ouerthrowne the one halfe of the gates, being ſhaken with the often ſhot. Where the Earle of Northampton, & one *Drury* (a man of excellent valour) with their Bands haſting into the City, driue the Campers from thence, many being wounded, and many ſlaine.

Also on the other sides of the City, the Maiors Deputy brought to passe, that the gates, called Westwicke gates, were opened, which being vnlocked and set open, Warwicke with all his Host were let in (almost none resisting) and came into the market place. There they found almost threescore of the Rebels, whom in warlike manner they punished. For without hearing the cause, all of them were presently (as the manner of warres is) manifestly conuict of their wickednesse, and receiued their last punishment. Not long after, all Carts and carriages, which could not come in, both by reason of the hardnesse of the draft; as also the often, and sodaine incursiõs of the enemies, are brought into the City at these gates also. But it came to passe (as it chanced) by the rashnesse and folly of the keepers of the carriage (while our men were occupied about their weighty businesse) that they went out of the City thorow Bishops gates, towards Mousehold; which certaine of the Rebels perceiuing, they sent some of their company to set vpon the careless keepers thereof, and bereaued our men of the whole carriage. Whereat greatly reioycing (for before they were vtterly vnprouided of such things) they carryed into the Campe, Carts loaden with Gunnes, Gunpowder, and all kinde of instruments of warre.

But in very good season, Captaine, *Drury* came vpon them with his Band, which recouered part of the carriage from the enemy: yet not without some losse of his Souldiers. Then the Traytours tooke this counsell to lay waite in the Lanes, and crosse Streets by Companies, supposing to slay our men quickly and vnwares, being ignorant of the wayes, not accustomed thereto, and by reason of the greatnesse of the City. Wherefore, they diuided themselues by Parishes. Some of them stood at Saint *Michaels* of Mospoole, part at Saint *Simons*, others at Saint *Peters* of Hungate, and others in East Wymer Warde; all ready to battell. There, setting vpon some of our men on the sodaine: they most cruelly slew three or foure Gentlemen, before any helpe could come. The matter being knowne, and noysed in the market place; Warwicke goeth with all his Host to remooue the enemy. When they came thorow the Street (called Saint *Iohns* Street, and were now come to Saint *Andrewes* Church, the enemy (vnlooked for) with his Bowmen discharged vpon vs a mighty force of Arrowes, as flakes of snow in a tempest.

But

But while they were yet ſhooting, intending to mixe heauen and earth together: On the ſudden came Captayne *Drury* the ſecond time with his charge of Harquebuſiers, yong men, and of an excellent courage and skill, who payed them home againe with ſuch a terrible volly of ſhot (as if it had beene a ſtorme of hayle) and put them all to flight as in a moment, trembling. There were ſlaine at this skirmiſh about three hundred & thirty. And many being found creeping in the Church-yard, and vnder the Walles, were taken and put to grieuous puniſhment. All the reſt of that filthy company ſtowed againe to the Campe at Mouſhold, as into a ſinke. Which being auoyded, the Citizens ſeemed at the length to be greatly releeued and comforted, becauſe they had vomited vp and caſt out ſo grieuous a plague. The Rebels after this ſort chaſed out, and driuen from the City: Warwick, the better to fortifie the ſame, furniſhed the walles with Souldiers, and other prouiſion, fit for the repulſing of the Enemie, and gaue commandement, that armed men (out of hand) ſhould be placed in euery ſtreet, and that all the paſſages into the City and Gates (one or two excepted) ſhould bee blocked vp. For by thoſe Gates our men carryed out great ſtore of Ordinance, which ſtood there ready charged to bee conueyed the next day to Mouſhold. But *Ketts* company ſuppoſing our men to bee greatly diſtreſſed for powder, & all other neceſſary furniture for Ordinance, perceiuing alſo ſome few to ſtand ſtraggling with our Carryage and Carts, & not carefull for any ſudden euent of warre (whom through the rage of the ſwelling pride of their heart, being mad) they greatly deſpiſed (both becauſe of their ſmall company, as alſo being negligent, and fearing no ſuch danger, they ſuppoſed they might eaſily ouer-come) they thought there was offered vnto them great oportunity of doing ſome notable exploit.

Three dred a thirty bels ſl at S. A drew, Editio

Therefore, while Warwicks Souldiers (what for the defence of the City, and the number of other waighty buſineſſe) were hindred with greater cares: One *Myles*, a man (as it ſeemeth) moſt bold, and skilfull in diſcharging of Ordinance, watching the time and oportunity of this villany, ſhot thorow the Kings Maſter Gunner with a bullet. Whom, when they perceiued to bee fallen downe dead; ſome of them naked and vnarmed, ſome armed with ſtaues, bils, and pitchforkes, moued as it were with a frenſie, made an aſſault vpon our men, running downe the Hill: Who abode not ſo much as the firſt incounter (ſo great was the feare on euery ſide, and

Myles kil the Kin Gunner,

force of the enemie vnlooked for) but astonished and terrified with the disordered cries, and horrible noise of their feete, as they came running downe the hill, leauing all the Baggage and Carts, ranne away on all sides, with great out-cries, and a swift course. A few therefore after this sort put to flight by many, the Rebels tooke, and carried away into the Campe, certaine Ordinance which they found there, and Carts loaden with all things necessarie for the warres, before any helpe of our men could come. Which thing was very hurtfull vnto vs, and much out of our way. For besides that, afterward we wanted those instruments and weapons, wherewith the enemie had furnished himselfe, *Ketts* Gunners discharged often vpon vs, and most cruelly those iron bullets from the Ordinance and Gunnes which they tooke from vs, and battered the Citie grieuously. And many being slaine, torne and rent in sunder with the rage of the shot, this villany and wickednesse they adde to the rest; that they beate downe most furiously a great part of the Wall, and the Tower vpon Bishops Gates; though surely (through the goodnesse of God) such was the lot of the people of Norwich at that time, as the bullets flying euery where, whether by chance, or of set purpose; or which rather I suppose, by the rashnesse and ignorance of the Gunners, which sometime happeneth, leuelling somewhat too high, mounted ouer the toppes of the houses, without doing any great harme: which, except it had so come to passe, with the continuall force of shot from those vile and wretched Rebels; the houses being shattered and shaken, the greatest part of the Citie had beene beaten downe, and made euen with the ground in short time: And without doubt, in the opinion of all men, a greater losse that day had come vnto all common affaires, except *Drury* with his valour, and slaughter of his souldiers, not to bee despised (making satisfaction for this inconuenience, by putting the enemies to flight, and chasing them,) had recouered the greatest part of the prouision they droue away.

Rebels the gs pro- n the nd time

rury satisfieth the mer inconuenience

Warwicke, (these things done after this manner, some of the Gates of the Citie being broken and fallen downe, and now ramperd vp againe) placed vpon the Bridges, and winding Streetes of the Parishes and Lanes, diuers of his Garisons, and appointed a great companie of Armed men at Bishops Gates, and committed the charge thereof to my Lord

arwicke rtifies the tie.

Willoughby,

Willoughby, and ſo compaſſed and fortifyed all places, as the ſame night hee cut off from the Enemy all entrance into the Citie.

Notwithſtanding, the next day the Rebels came ouer the Riuer, called Conisford, and confounded all things with a terrible fire, and lamentable to behold. For all the houſes in two Pariſhes being burnt downe; the fire ſo ſpred abroad, as it got hold with an horrible flame vpon many of the Neighbour Pariſhes. There was a certayne houſe wherein the Marchants of Norwich did vſually beſtow their marchandize, which they receiued daily from Yarmouth (called the common Stathe.) Hereunto the Rebels ſet fire, whereby within a moment the houſe it ſelfe, and great ſtore of Corne, and much other commodities of many honeſt Marchants, were vtterly burnt with fire and conſumed. The report goeth (and it is not vnlikely) that they intended to haue deſtroyed the whole City with fire, and to that end threw fire vpon the roofes of many houſes, whereby they might bring to paſſe, that while all men ſhould runne to ſaue the fired houſes, the Rebels at the ſame inſtant, caſting downe the Rampires, and opening all the Gates, might diſtreſſe our men (being ſcattered, and helping one another) hauing the fire on the one ſide, and the ſword on the other. Which thing being wiſely obſerued, both diſappointed the deuice of the Rebels, and brought our men in the minde, to ſuffer the fire (ſpreading euery where vpon the tops of the houſes) with a ſpeedy waſting, and conſuming of all things, neither would they ſo much as quench it in the very beginning.

Rebels come o... at Cōt... and fir... City.

Comma... Stathe...

Rebels p... licy.

But when in this ſort vnhappily theſe things (for the moſt part) befell the Citizens; God bringing alwayes one calamity on the neck of another, great aſtoniſhment and ſorrow ſtrooke many mens mindes, inſomuch as languiſhing through deſpaire and feare, they almoſt faynted, now deuoide of all counſell. Theſe came vnto Warwick, declaring vnto him, that the City is great, and all the Gates either broke open, or burnt downe; the number of men for the warre but few, the power of the Enemie to be great, and cannot be reſiſted. They humbly beſought him, in regard of their ſafetie, he would leaue the Citie, & not ſuffer the matter to be brought to vtter extremity. Warwick (as hee was a man alwayes of a great and inuincible courage, valiant, and mighty in Armes, and thought ſcorne of the leaſt infamie) ſaid, What, are ye ſo

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ſoone

soone dismaid? and is so great a mist on the sudden come ouer your mindes, which hath taken away the edge of your courage, that you would either desire this thing, or thinke it can come to passe while I am aliue, that I should forsake the City? I will first suffer fire, sword; finally, all extremity, before I will bring such a stayne of infamy and shame, either vpon my selfe, or you. With these words hee drew his sword; so did the rest of the Nobles (for they were all there gathered together) and hee commanded after a warlike manner (and as is vsually done in greatest danger) that they should kisse one anothers sword, making the signe of the holy Crosse, and by an Oath, and solemne promise by word of mouth, euery man to binde himselfe to other, not to depart from the City, before they had vtterly banished the Enemie, or else fighting manfully, had bestowed their liues cheerfully for the Kings Maiestie.

ldiers ... oneanthers ...rds.

While these things were in doing, the Rebels broke in at another side of the City, where our men little thought they could enter: but when they were almost come to the Bridges, they were speedily incountred by our men, and with a mighty slaughter and many wounds were driuen back againe, and retyred headlong the way they came.

But Warwick, the better to take vtterly away from the Rebels all ability of entrance into the City, commanded all the Bridges on euery side to bee cut on sunder, yet after, for certayne causes it was commanded otherwise; and only that which is commonly called white Fryers bridge, was broken downe. All the rest were defended with good Souldiers. And al places else, and especially the gates (because for the most part they were all, either broken downe, or else fired) were deliuered in charge to men of courage, and experienced in warlike affaires, to bee defended vpon euery sudden occasion, whereby it came to passe, that all the desperate and night incursions of the Enemie, were voide and of none effect.

hite Fri... bridge ...oken.

The next day after, which was the seuenth of the Kalends of September, one thousand and forty Switsers, valiant and notable Souldiers (as the report goeth commonly) came from London to Norwich. These were ioyfully receiued of our men, who testified their gladnesse and cheerfulnesse by many vollies of shot. At the length being diuided by Parishes and houses, and liberally & courteously intertayned, and inuited of the Citizens, as it reuiued the hearts of our men, and stirred them vp vnto a sure hope, with confidence of per-

he 26. of ...ugust. ...040. ...witsers ...t to Nor...ch.

performing the busineſſe well: So it danted the hearts of the Enemies being now confounded with a new feare and aſtoniſhment, at this doubtfull knowledge of their future ouerthrow.

In the meane ſeaſon, the ſeditious, coueting nothing more then to ſucke out the bloud of all good men (whereof they had now drunke in their moſt greedy mindes ſome hope) thought all the waight of the matter to conſiſt in this, if Warwicks Army might be put to flight at the firſt aſſault. And ſurely as they forſooke the good and mighty God: ſo againe, being deſpiſed and reiected of him, they gaue ouer themſelues bond-ſlaues to the Deuill: Who bewitching their mindes with an old wifes ſuperſtition, brought to paſſe, that being once intangled with the blinde illuſions of Southſayers, they choſe a certayne Vally, not farre off, as appointed to this warre by deſtinie: Although ſurely (as is recorded) there wanted not ſtrange and euident tokens of Gods heauy diſpleaſure againſt them. For a Snake leaping out of a rotten Tree, did ſpring directly into the boſome of *Ketts* wife; which thing ſtrooke not ſo much the hearts of many with an horrible feare, as it filled *Kett* himſelfe with doubtfull cares. But here peraduenture it will not be impertinent to remember how theſe men puffed vp with the opinion of an idle error, turned themſelues to peſtilent things. Which, when ſurely they portended, the anger and vengeance of God (as it ſeemed) yet ſwelling with raging cruelty and obſtinacy, they all neglected. So great a miſt of darkneſſe vndoubtedly is Satan wont to bring vpon the mindes of men, as oft as he findeth them drowned in miſchiefe. For while there were many doting Propheccies among the People, out of which they ſucked I know not what hope of victorie; yet they imbraced certayne vnſauorie and ſottiſh Verſes (tokens of the fooliſh cruelty of their minds) aboue al the reſt. Which they vſed euery day, often ſpeaking of them (for falſe prophets almoſt euery houre inſtilled ſuch fopperies into their eares.) For example there was a toy neuer heard of before, which exceeded all credit, as at the mention whereof how their furious ſenſes were ſtirred vp, may appeare, and with how great and vaine delight they carried themſelues, may eaſily be ſeene; although by theſe Verſes alone had beene prophecied to them proſperity and victorie, but vnto vs deſtruction, and a miſerable ruine of all things:

A Snake in Ketts boſome.

The Verses were these,

The Countrey gnooffes Hob, Dick, and Hick,
VVith clubbes, and clouted shoone,
Shall fill vp Dussyn dale:
VVith slautered bodies soone.

Deuils ...ies are ...ure & ...btfull, ... as men ... affected ... they ...ose.

While these Verses were sung continually euery where, the Deuill infused such poyson into the mindes of these most wretched men, as they decreed to commit their hope of good successe to a doubtfull euent of a false place. Therefore all their Dennes and lurking places euery where, which they had made on Moushold of tymber, and other prouision, being now set on fire (insomuch as the smoke rising from so many places distant one from another) seemed to bring night almost vpon the whole skeyes, and couered the Plaines with thick darkenesse.

...e Rebels ...ere twen... ...ancients.

From thence they went to the Valley called *Dussyns Dale*, with twenty ancients, and ensignes of Warre. So great was the Rebels hope of prey, and the multitude allured through impunity. There they practise all they can, and beginne to deuise how to take away from our men the assault and hope of giuing the charge. Insomuch as they intrenched then themselues as in a moment, and made Bulwarks, and other defences. Moreouer, they brought a ditch ouer the high wayes, and cut off all passage, pitching their Iauelins and stakes in the ground before them.

Aug. 27.

S. Martins.

When Warwick had intelligence hereof, he also purposed to trye the euent of warre, that whom by lenity and patience, he could not perswade, those he might by force of Armes subdue. Therefore the day following, that was the sixt of the Kalends of September, setting his Armie in order, hee marched against the Enemy through Cosleny Gates. There ioyned with him the Marquesse of Northhampton, *VVilloughby*, *Poysie*, *Bray*, *Ambrose Dudley* Warwicks sonne, and besides of Noble and valiant men a choise company.

...ehold the ...ifference ...etweene a ...aturall ...Prince and ... Tyrant.

Notwithstanding, before they came into the sight of the enemie, they sent *Edmund Kneuet*, and *Thomas Palmer*, Gentlemen, and famous in the Court, and as many other with them, to inquire, whether they would leaue off their furies, and forsake their wickednesse, crueltie, and purpose of making warre against their Countrie now at the last: for so great and incredible is the goodnesse and clemency of the Kings Maiestie, that although with an impietie (neuer to

be

be forgotten) they had abused his Maiestie and dignitie, and stained themselues with euerlasting notes of villanie; yet he hath commanded once againe to bee offered vnto them peace; and pardon (notwithstanding al that they had committed) yea, to euery of them (one or two excepted) so as they would turne to dutie now at the last (being ledde with repentance) from this course of malice and wickednesse: but if they purposed peeuishly, and vngodly to persist in their madnes, and to trie the end: Now let them know, there was come at the last the iust punishment of their foolish lightnesse and disloialtie; and Warwicke himselfe, although late, yet the sure reuenger of so horrible a conspiracie.

Hereunto they all stoutly made one answere:

That they would not.

Which answere returned to Warwicke, he without any long exhortation, perswaded his souldiers (alreadie burning with a feruent desire of the battell) that they should valiantly inuade the enemie, and cast no doubts, but repute and take the company of Rebels which they saw, not for men, but bruit beasts, indued with all crueltie. Neither let them suppose, that they were come out to fight, but to take punishment, and should speedily require it at the hands of these most vngratious robbers; that they should lay euen with the ground, afflict, punish, and vtterly roote out the baine of their Country, the ouerthrow of Christian Religion and dutie: Finally, most cruell beasts, and striuing against the Kings Maiestie, with an irrecouerable madnesse.

Obstin[illegible] will no[illegible] suffer [illegible] man to amend[illegible] Warwi[illegible] exhort[illegible] to the b[illegible]tell.

When he had thus spoken, because the enemie was within shot, he giueth a signe of the battel: but the Campers perceiuing our men comming against them, so disposed their company, as first they placed in the fore-ranke of the battell, all the Gentlemen, which they carried with them after the manner of condemned persons, chained together, and bound with giues and fetters. Which they did to this end, that our friends might be slaine of our selues: but by the prouidence of God, vsing the incredible courage of our Souldiers, it came to passe otherwise then the enemie looked for, so as they escaped safe almost all of them. For *Miles*, who (as we said of late) was *Ketts* Master Gunner, and most skilful in that Arte, with an iron bullet, strooke the Kings Standerd-bearer thorow the thigh, which strooke also the horse he rode on thorow the shoulder, so as both died with the same shot. Which thing our men taking grieuously,

A cruel[illegible]licie.

Gods P[illegible]uidenc[illegible]

Miles [illegible] the Ki[illegible] Stande[illegible] bearer.

 dischar-

discharged also their peeces againe, with such a terrible volly of shot vpon the enemie, as it brake their rankes, who by this occasion continually forced and disordered, all the Gentlemen which were in the fore-front, flying, escaped the storme of the battell. Our horsemen, after they perceiued the enemy to bee scattered, and put to flight with the often shot of the Gunners, and Harquebusiers, ranne vpon them sodainely, with all their troupes, and gaue them a charge, where they were so farre from abiding the incounter; as like sheep cõfusedly they ran away headlong, as it were mad men. But throug the noise, and cry of our men following, euen now in the last obstinacy of treason: when their fierce and boyling mindes had taken vp, I wot not what secret flames of hatred & griefe (as wilde beasts) being returned from their desperation, and remembrance of their villanies, into rage & madnesse (turning themselues speedily from their flight) with deadly obstinacy they withstood our men a little while: Yet such was the force of the shot, and the heat of our men rushing vpon them, which like vnbridled horses (being greedy of the victory) broke into the Host of the enemy, that *Ketts* Army being beaten downe, and ouerthrowne on euery side (with the hot assault) were almost with no labour driuen from their standing. Therfore *Kett* himselfe, as he was a stout Captaine in villany, so was hee a cowardly gouernour in warre. For, when he saw all went against him; their rankes broken, their souldiers ouerthrowne, our forces fiercely to inuade, & that there was neither hope of safty, nor means of aide, perplexed in minde, and pressed in conscience, with his exceeding villany, secretly fled out of the Campe from his company. Which assoone as it was knowne, the Captaine to be fled out of the field: it is incredible to thinke how it weakned the mindes of the Rebels, and brought to passe in a short time, as all that heat of late, and earnest desire to fight againe (forthwith at this strange and vnlooked for report of his flying) fainted, and waxed colde. Whereupon were heard murmurings, and secret complainings: after, cryings out: at last they beganne to runne away on euerie side. Our horsemen standing round about followed swiftly, and made a great slaughter, for there were slaine about three thousand, and fiue hundred, and a great many wounded: when being scattered, they might all haue beene wounded or slaine. Which some of the Rebels perceiuing, all hope of pardon (as they supposed) being vtterly taken away (their mindes now waxing sauage, through

...flied ...dly.

...tors ...aue no

...o. Re- ...slaine.

through many cruell facts) they stirred vp one another, in that despaire of life, to the doing of greater villany. Wherfore, with an obstinate bolnesse, presently recouering themselues by companies from their flight, they intended to renew the battell, affirming that they had rather die manfully in fight, then flying, to bee slaine like sheepe. After, when they had furnished themselues with swords, and other weapons, which lay scattered vpon the ground, euery where among the heapes of the dead bodies, and had pitched in the ground before them, Speares, Iauelins, and sharpe Stakes, they swore either to other, to spend in that place their liues manfully, or else at the length to get the victory. Therefore, when they had drunke either to other (for that was in signe of good lucke, and of their minds vowed to death) with prayers and vowes, made after a solemne manner, they fortifie themselues to the battell. Warwick vnderstanding this, sendeth an Herald, willing them to lay downe their weapons, which if they would yet doe, they should escape vnpunished: if otherwise, they should all of them, euen to the last man, perish. They answered againe, that they would willingly leaue their weapons, if they were perswaded, that promise of impunity would proue for their safety: But, they haue had already experience, of their cruelty vpon their companions in all places; and therfore the same to bee such an vndoubted signe vnto them: as they suppose this mention of pardon, deceitfully offered by the Nobles; to be nothing else, but whereby, being circumuented and ouercome; by a false and vaine hope of fauour (as by snares) they should all at the last be led to torture and death. And in truth, whatsoeuer they pretend, they know well, and perceiue, this pardon to bee nothing else, but vessels of Ropes and Halters, and therefore haue decreed to die.

Magnanimity stands not in the outward reuenge.

This answere being returned, Warwicke is reported to lament the multitude, euen now ready to perish. And being led with compassion towards them, sent againe to inquire: whether if hee came himselfe, and gaue his faith, and bound themselues before their faces, they would then lay downe their weapons. They all answered, if that were done, they would beleeue, and resigne themselues to the will, and authority of the King.

Warwicke goeth himselfe and they imbrace Pardon.

Whereupon without delay, Warwicke goeth presently vnto them, commandeth the Herald openly to reade the Kings Commission, which being read (because therein vndoubtedly, pardon was pro-

promiſed to all) truſting to it, they laid downe their weapons euery man, and all of them as with one mouth, thankefully cryed: *God ſaue King Edward, God ſaue King Edward.* And thus many men (as it were taken out of the iawes of death) were ſaued by the Wiſdome and Compaſſion of Warwicke.

The battell being ended, all the prey the ſame day was giuen to the Souldiers, and openly ſold in Norwich market. Moreouer, this thing is in Record, that many Gentlemen, and ſome of the chiefe of the City, were ſlaine in this tumult, and heat of the fight: although they gaue money, and great rewards to the Souldiers, to ſpare their liues.

Kett taken. The next day, tidings was brought by certaine meſſengers to Warwicke, that *Kett* while his Horſe tyred, and fell downe in his iourney (as it came to paſſe by Gods prouidence) being weary of his flight; hid himſelfe in a Barne, & was found by two ſeruants of one *Riches* of Swannington, & taken and carried home to his houſe, and kept ſafe. Preſently there were ſent twenty horſemen for him, who finding him there in his filthineſſe all forlorne, lying lamenting and howling; pale for feare, doubting and deſpairing of life: they tooke him, and brought him bound to Norwich.

9. hanged on the Oke. The ſame day began Iudgement in the Caſtle, and an inquiry was made of thoſe that had conſpired, and many were hanged, and ſuffered grieuous death. Afterward, nine which were the Ringleaders, and principalls were hanged on the Oke: *Called the Oke of Reformation*, and many companions with them in theſe villanies, were hanged, and then preſently cut downe, and falling vpon the earth (theſe are the Iudgements of Traytors in our Countrey) firſt their priuie parts are cut off, then their bowels pulled out aliue, and caſt into the fire, then their head is cut off, and their bodies quartered: the head ſet vpon a Pole, and fixed on the tops of the Towers of the City, the reſt of the body beſtowed vpon ſeuerall places, and ſet vp to the terror of other. But theſe wilde and rude heads, after this ſort being taken away, many of the Gentlemen carryed with diſpleaſure and deſire of reuenge, laboured to ſtirre vp the minde of Warwick to cruelty. Who not contented with the puniſhment of a few, would haue rooted out vtterly the off-ſpring and wicked race of them, and were ſo earneſt and eger in it, as they conſtrayned Warwick to vſe this ſpeech vnto them openly.

THere must be measure kept, and aboue all things in punishment, men must not exceed. He knew their wickednes to be such, as deserued to be grieuously punished, and with the seuerest iudgement that might bee. But how farre would they goe? would they euer shew themselues discontented, and neuer pleased? VVould they leaue no place for humble petition; none for pardon and mercie? VVould they be Plowmen themselues, and harrow their owne lands?

Warwi speech t the Ge men.

These speeches appeased greatly the desire of reuenge, and brought to passe, that many which before burned wholly with cruelty, afterward notwithstanding were farre more courteous towards the miserable Common people. The same night the bodies of the slaine were buried, lest there might breed some infection, or sickneſse from the sauour of the dead bodies.

The day after (that was the day before the fourth of the Kalends of September) the most worthy Earle of Warwicke, and famous for wisdome and courage, with all his Nobles, and a great company, not only men, but women of all degrees and ages, and an Assembly of all Estates, went to Saint *Peters* Church, and there made prayers, and gaue thanks to Almightie God, for the thing so worthily performed: which being ended, he departed the Citie with all his Armie.

Warwicke after prai ing God, departeth the Citie.

But the Citizens being filled with ioy and gladneſse, all with one consent extolled Warwicke, with commendations to the heauens, and spake all manner good of him, with clapping of hands, ioy and thankfulneſse, filled, and confounded all things, and renowned with most excellent speeches, the fame of so worthy a Captaine, and the memorie of so great courage; and attributed to his wisdome and good succeſse, the preseruation of their liues, their wiues and children: Finally, all their goods and possessions: And moreouer decreed (for the eternall note and ignominie of those times) that vpon the same day, wherein the enemies were discomfited, and put to flight, all men should repaire to their Churches, and make Prayers vnto Almightie God, with the Ministers of the Congregations euery yeere by a solemne custome established. Which being receiued for a Law, they decreed moreouer, that a Sermon should be made at the common place, to the which al the Citizens should resort; which ordinance, from such beginning, hath continued vntill this day. But

A Law made for the contin all remem brance.

Kett,

Kett, the Ring-leader of these villanies, together with *William Kett*, a man famous for many lewd behauiours, and his brother (not so neere ioyned in communion of bloud, as in lewdnesse and wretchednes of life) were drawne to London, and laid in the Tower.

After certaine daies, although they were manifestly conuict of treason against the Kings Maiestie, and by the iudgement and reproches of all men, together with the gilt of conscience for their villanies condemned; yet were they drawne to open iudgement after the common manner, and a queſt passed vpon them for their triall: and being condemned, they were led away, the one to Norwich, the other to Windham, where a deserued punishment passed vpon them both. For *Robert Kett* (at the Castle in Norwich) had chaines put vpon him, and with a rope about his necke, was drawne aliue from the ground vp to the Gibbet, placed vpon the top of the Castle, and there hanged for a continuall memorie of so great villanie, vntil that vnhappy and heauy body (through putrifaction consuming) shall fall downe at length.

But *William Kett* ended his life with the same kinde of death at Windham, whence all these Furies flowed as from the Fountayne, for there they both dwelt. But after this sort, the City and all the Countrey of Norfolke (when this vile and deadly plague of treason, to the destruction of many, had continued almost threescore dayes, and had shaken all things with most lamentable ruine) at the length, through the goodnesse of God, and wonderfull valour of Warwick (that excellent noble man) these so bloudy and wofull tumults ended, and the Countrey had rest.

Deo Deo gloriam.

FINIS.

¶ The Names of the Mayors and Sherifs of Norwich, from the first of HENRIE the fourth, vntill the eleuenth yeere of King IAMES.

Anni Dom.	Anni Regn.	The Names of the Baiifes of the Citie, for foure yeeres before the graunt of Mayors.	Bish. of & other
1399	Ann. 1. Hen. 4	Wal. Daniel. Rob. Dunston. Ric. Whit. Geo. Eaton.	Hen. S B. sate
1400	2	Wat. Daniel. Bar. Blackney. Tho. Garrard. H. Skeyt	
1	3	Io. Daniel. Edm. Warner. G. Apleyard. W. Euerard	Alexan
2	4	Ro. Hunworth. Io. Harston. W Sedman. Io. Coppin	the 9. o sate 6. y
		MAYORS. SHERIFES.	
3	5	W. Appelyard Rob. Brasier. Io. Daniel	
4	6	W. Aplyard 2. Sampson Barker. Io. Skeye	
5	7	W. Aplyard 3. Io. Harston. Ric. Spurdance	
6	8	Gual. Daniel Edm. VVarner. Ric. Dreue	This yere it did
7	9	Io. Daniel Tho. Gerrard. Io. VVurlike	so greatly, as th
8	10	Edm. Warner. Tho. Bartlet. Io. Bixley	continued 15. w
9	11	Gual. Daniel 2. Gual. Mozley. Io. Manning	
1410	12	Ro. Brasier Io. Scotham. Geo. Aulley	
1	13	W. Aplyard 4. Io. Leuerech. Io. VVake	
2	14	W. Aplyard 5. Ric. VVhit. Io. Grunthorp	
3	Ann. 1. Hen. 5	Ric. Dreue VV. Sedman. Rob. Luffyeld	The first yeere o 5. a great part Citie of Norwic
4	2	Io. Bixley Tho. Cooke. Hen. Raffman	burnt, and con with suddaine fir
5	3	Io. Manning Ric. Mozley. Tho. Occle	
6	4	Hen. Raffman Io. Asger. Io. Michel	
7	5	Io. Daniel 2. VV. Roose. Hen. Iacques	Richard Cou
8	6	VV. Aplyard 6 Ro. Baxter. Io. Cambridge	Bishop. 1. H. 5. a two yeeres.
9	7	Gua. Daniel 3. Hen. Pecking. Io. Scothan.	
1420	8	Ric. Spurdance Tho. Ingham. Ro. Asger	Io. Wakering
1	9	VV. Seduam VV. Nich. Simon Cooke	began 3. Hen. 5 nine yeeres.
2	Ann. 1. Hen. 6.	Io. Manning 2. Io. Gerard. Tho. Daniel	
3	2	Io. Daniel 4. Io. VVright. Io. Hodkins.	

	MAYORS.	SHERIFES.	*Bishops of Norwich and other accidents.*
3	*Thomas Baxter*	*W. Gray. Peter Brasier*	W. Amwicke, tenne yeeres Bishop.
4	*Tho. Ingham*	*Thomas Welbei. Rob. Chaplin.*	
5	*Iohn Asger*	*Iohn Copping. Iohn Gleder*	
6	*Thom Wetherby*	*Iohn Wilby. Ric. Pilbey*	Ione a Sorcereſſe in great eſtimation with the Dolphin of France rode armed & in mans aparrell in warre, the ſpace of 2, yeers, and did many wonderfull feates, and got from the Engliſhmen many Townes and Holds.
7	*Richard Mozley*	*Iohn Alderford. Greg Draper*	
8	*Robert Baxter 2*	*W. Iſelham. Iohn Sipater*	
9	*Iohn Cambridge*	*Rob. Toppies. Iohn Penning*	
10	*Tho. Ingham. 2.*	*W. Aſwel. Thomas Graſton.*	Thomas Browne Biſhop nine yeeres.
11	*Tho. Wetherby. 2*	*Iohn Dunning. Auguſt. Bange.*	
12	*Ric. Spurdance 2*	*Rob. Langley. W. Hempſtead*	This yeere for foure yeeres together, the Citie of Norwich was depriued of all their liberties, and loſt all gouernment.
13	*Iohn Garrard*	*Roger Boten. Thomas Ball*	
14	*Robert Toppes*	*Edm. Bretton. Peter Roper*	
15	*Rob. Chaplin*	*Rich. Braſier. Gualter Crump*	
16	*Io. Cambridge. 2*	*Sim. Walſoker. Clem. Fiſhman*	
17	*Io. Welles gouernour.*	*Watt. Eton. Iohn Lingford*	Printing inuented in Mentzs, 1440. other thinke 1458.
18	*Io. Welles Cuſtos*	*Wat. Eaton. Iohn Lingford*	Paules ſteeple burnt 1443.
19	*Io. Cliſtomilcuſt*	*Iohn Broſiard. Iohn Spicer*	Walter Hart Biſhop ſat 26. yeeres.
20	*Io. Cliſton Cuſt.*	*Iohn Goſling. Hen. Stirmin*	
21	*W. Hemſtead*	*Thomas Allen. Rob. Seygrim*	This yeere all England was ſhaken with a horrible Earthquake.
22	*W. Aſwel. 2.*	*Iohn Intwood. Rob. Allen*	
23	*Rob. Toppies. 2.*	*Iohn Broſiard. Rob. Spicer*	The yeere before the Kentiſhmen made Iohn Cade Captaine ouer them, and with a mightie Armie marched towards London, where they ſpoyled, waſted, and burned, and tooke away al things, and beheaded diuers of the Nobilitie; amongſt other the Lord Say Principall of England. But at laſt by the Diuidence, they were all put to flight, and receiued deſerued puniſhment.
24	*Iohn Cliſton*	*Iohn Intwood. Rob. Allen*	
25	*W. Aſwel. 3.*	*Iohn Intwood. Robert Allen*	
26	*Tho. Catworth*	*Iohn Intwood. Rob. Allen*	
27	*Tho. Catworth. 2*	*Rob. Furbuſher. Iohn Wnighton*	
28	*George Draper*	*Robert Browne. Iohn Drol*	
29	*Thomas Allen*	*Iohn Chittoke. Rob. Machin*	
30	*Ralph Seygrim*	*W. Barley. Iohn Gilbert*	
31	*Rob. Toppies. 3.*	*Thomas Ellis. Robert Lyred*	
32	*Iohn Droll*	*Edward Cutler. Iohn Clarke*	
33	*Rich. Browne*	*Ric. Beere. Geoffery Quinch*	
34	*George Draper 2*	*W. Norwich. Rich. Alboone*	
35	*Richard Braſier*	*Tho. Buckingham. Iohn Blount*	
36	*Iohn Chyttocke.*	*Geoffery Iey. Iohn Hunnworth*	
37	*Rob. Toppies. 4.*	*Tho. Owdolfe. W. Riuer*	
38	*Iohn Gilbert -*	*Geof. Godfrayes. Edm. Colman*	

Anni Dom.	Anni Regum	MAYORS.	SHERIFES.	Bishops of Nor... and other accide...
460	39	*Thomas Ellis*	*Rob.Beſt. Iohn Auberie*	
1	Ed.4.1	*W.Norwich*	*Iohn Northal. Iohn Coocke*	
2	2	*Iohn Butt*	*Iohn Burton. Rich.Hoſte*	
3	3	*Rich. Braſier.2.*	*Hen.Spencer.W.Willis*	This yeare the C... thedrall Church ... Norwich was bu... down with ſudden fi...
4	4	*Iohn Gilbert. 2.*	*W.Swanne. Rob. Portland*	
5	5	*Thomas Ellis.2.*	*Walt.Fronfield. Rich. Aniel*	
6	6	*Iohn Chittock.2*	*Iohn Roſe. Iohn Beckels*	
7	7	*Roger Beſt.*	*Iohn Lawes. Rob.Hickling*	
8	8	*Gual.Fronſield*	*Rich.Ferrer.Thomas Veil*	
9	9	*Iohn Auberie*	*Tho.Buckingham.W.Peper*	This yeere the Ke... tiſhmen in Cõmoti... did much hurt at Lo... don and thereabout...
1470	10	*Edward Cutler*	*Iohn Haruie. Hen.Owdolſe*	
1	11	*Iohn Butt*	*Iohn Wellis. Rob.Atmer*	
2	12	*Roger Beſt.2.*	*Edm.Statie. Thomas Storme.*	Edm. Statie held ... Shriualtie at Trowſe...
3	13	*Richard Ferrer*	*Iohn Coocke. W.London*	Iohn Goldwel ſat ... yeeres.
4	14	*Thomas Ellis.3.*	*Iames Goldbeter. Iohn Bright*	
5	15	*W. Swaine*	*Tho.Cambridge. W.Lound.*	This yeere Edwa... 4. came to Norwich
6	16	*Iohn Wellis.*	*Ham.Claxton.Rob.Coocke*	
7	17	*Iohn Portland*	*Greg.Clarke. Phil.Curſon*	
8	18	*Rich. Ferrer.2.*	*Rob.Oſborne. Thom.Beaſield.*	This yeere in Iu... was ſuch a Earthqua... in the fields of No... wich, and almoſt ... England ouer, that ... many places diu... buildings were ſhak... downe with the for... of it.
9	19	*Tho. Buckinghã*	*Rob.Wellis. Thomas Philips*	
1480	20	*Iohn Aubrey.2.*	*Rich.Gardiner. Thomas Zorth*	
1	21	*W. London*	*Richard Ballis. Ralph Eſte*	
2	22	*W. Almer*	*Rob.Belton. Iohn Denton*	
3	Ri.3.1.	*Rich.Ferrer.3.*	*W. Roſa. W. Ferrer*	
4	2	*Iohn Coocke*	*Iohn Ebbes. W.Curties*	
5	Hen.7. 1	*Ham. Claxton*	*Iohn Telles. Iohn Swaine*	Sweat firſt in En... land.
6	2	*Th.Buckinghã.2*	*Iohn Wilkins. Iohn Iowel*	King Henry ca... this yeere to Norwi...
7	3	*Iohn Wellis.2.*	*Iohn Picamor. Iohn Caſtin*	An Earthquake ... gaine ſhooke all En... land. Alſo this yeer... great Plague in No... wich, whereof dyed ... one yeere, 57104. fro... Ianuarie vntil Iuly, b... ſides Religious me...
8	4	*Tho.Beaſield*	*Iohn Reed. Rich.Howard*	
9	5	*Rich.Ballis*	*Thomas Cauſe. Nich.Dauie*	
1490	6	*Rob.Gardiner*	*Nich.Cowlich. W.Gogion*	
1	7	*W. London.2.*	*Stephen Braine.Thom.Coocke*	
2	8	*Rob.Aylmer.2.*	*Iohn Warnes. Iohn Rightwiſe*	
3	9	*Rich.Ferrer.4.*	*Rob.Long.Bartholmew King*	
4	10	*Ste. Bryan*	*Iohn Horſley Rob. Burrow*	Anno 1487.3. Hen.7

Regnes	MAYORS.	SHERIFES.	Bishops of Norwich and other accidents.
11	Iohn Wellis. 3. Thomas Cause.	Richard Brasier. Robert Best.	
12	Iohn Reede.	Iohn Francis. Iohn Pethode	
13	Nic. Cowliche.	Greg. Clarke. Tho. Aldich	
14	Ri. Ferrer. 5.	W. Ramsey. Tho. Hemming	
15	Rob. Gardiner. 2	Iohn Randolph. Ro. Pichamor	Tho. Ian 1. Bishop.
16	Iohn Warnes.	George Steward. Iohn Crome	Richard Nyex. 36
17	Iohn Rightwise.	Richard Aylmer. W. Drake	
18	W. Ramsey.	Simon Reede. Iohn Smith	
19	Thomas Cause.	Tho. Warus. Thomas Caunt	London this yeere almost consumed with fire.
20	Rob. Burrow.	W. Hart. { Iohn Henrie. Iohn Walters.	
21	Greg. Clarke.	Thomas Large. W. Godsrey	
22	Rob. Gardiner.	Thomas Clarke. Io. Swayn	Norwich this yeere the 25. of April, was horribly afflicted with fire, which burned continually 4. dayes together, most fearefully. And againe the same yeere the 4. of Iune, by the like casualtie it was againe fired.
23	Tho. Aldrich.	Iohn Clarke. Robert Ferrer.	
24	W. Ramsey. 2.	Edward Reede. Rob. Broome	
Hen. 8 1	Robert Long.	Hen. Meir. Robert Iannis	
2	Rich. Brasier.	Iohn Marsham. Ralph Wilkins	
3	Rich. Aylmer.	Robert Bell. Stephen Stallon.	
4	W. Hart.	Stephen Swan. Iohn Corpusby	
5	Ioh. Rightwise. 2	Iohn Busting. Thomas Pickerel	
6	Greg. Clarke. 2.	Hen. Scoolehouse. Iohn Terry.	Christ Church in Norwich, the 1. of Hen. 8. a great part of it burnt with the Bookes, and all the Ornaments thereof.
7	Iohn Clarke.	Ro. Baker { Rich. Farrer W. Broome { Tho. Wilkins	
8	Tho. Aldrich 2.	Tho. Bawber. Gregorie Cause	
9	Robert Iannys.	Rob. Greene. Thomas Corie	
10	Iohn Marsham.	Rob. Hemming. Ham. Linstead	In the eight yeere of King Henry the eight, Frost and Snow, so as Horse and Carts loaden, went ouer the Thames, and the same followed the 1ll May day at London.
11	W. Hart. 2.	Ioh. Browne. Bartho. Springal.	
12	Iohn Clarke. 2.	Nich. Syphas. Iohn Westgate	
13	Edward Reede.	Thomas Moore. Robert Hawle	
14	Iohn Terry.	Regi. Litleprow. W. Norffolk.	
15	Robert Iannys. 2	Stephen Rainbow. Hen. Salter	Sweate second, the 10. of He 8. which grieuously afflicted almost all England.
16	Tho. Pickerel.	Robert Leech. Iohn Swaine	
17	Robert Ferrer.	Aug. Steward. W. Layer.	
18	Robert Burrow.	W. Russel. Iohn Watts senior.	

	Regum	MAYORS.	SHERIFES.	and other
7	19	Ralph Wilkins.	Thomas Grew. Iohn Cl[illegible]	S. Leonard[illegible]
8	20	W. Rone.	Thomas Cranke. Henry Fuller	11. yeere of Hen. [illegible] Norwich.
9	21	Thomas Greene	Iohn Curat. Iohn Corbet	The French Quee[illegible]
30	22	Thomas Bawber.	Tho. Neiton. Nic. Sutterton	at Norwich 21. of He[illegible]
1	23	Edward Reede 2	Richard Catlin. W. Rogers	
2	24	Regi. Litleprow	Iohn Groot. W. Haſt	Bilney Burnt
3	25	Tho. Pickerel. 2.	Adam Lawes. Rog. Cowper	Norwich, 23. Hen. 8.
4	26	Aug. Steward	W. Lin. Thomas Greenwood	Ladie Elizab. bor[illegible]
5	27	Nicholas Syphat	Robert Browne. Henry Crooke	the 2[illegible]. the 7. of Septe[illegible]
6	28	Robert Ferrer. 2.	Edmund Wood. Tho. Thetford	at Greenwich.
7	29	W. Layer	Robert Rugge. Robert Palmer	1532. Monke of A[illegible]
8	30	Tho. Pickerel. 3.	Nic. Oſborne. Io. Humberſton	burnt at Norwich.
9	31	Nic. Soterton.	Iames Marſham { Th. Walters / Iohn Tracie	Rugge Biſhop 14. Six Articles.
40	32	Tho. Grewe	Thomas Codde. Iohn Spencer	
1	33	Robert Leech	Fœlix Puttocke. Iohn Quaſſe	
2	34	W. Rogers.	Thomas Cocke. Richard Danie	
3	35	Edward Reede	Rich. Alee { W. Morrant / Tho. Marſham	
4	36	Henry Fuller.	Edmund Warden. Rob. Martin	
5	37	Robert Rugge	Ric. Suckling. Robert Ling	
6	38	Aug. Steward 2.	Rob. Michels. Bern. Vdbeard	
7	Edw. 6 1	Robert Rich.	Thomas Dowſing. W. Heed	
8	2	Edmund Wood 2 W. Rogers. 2	Henry Bacon. Iohn Atkins	
9	3	Thomas Codde	Richard Fletcher. W. Ferrer	Ketts Campe [illegible]
550	4	Robert Rugge 2	Thomas Morley. Iohn Walters	yeere.
1	5	Richard Danie	Iohn Aldrich. Thomas Gray	Thomas Thurſt[illegible] Biſhop fate 4. yee[illegible]
2	6	Thomas Cocke	Rob. Norman. Iohn Bungey	Sweat 4. Iu[illegible]
3	Marie. 1	Thomas Crooke	Nicholas Norgate. Iohn Houſe	yeere was th[illegible] to Muſcouie. 1[illegible]
4	2	Tho. Marſham	Thomas Marſham. W. Mingay	
5	3	Fœlix Puttocke. Thomas Codde 2	Thomas Greene. Iohn Bloome	Iohn Hopton Bi[illegible] fate 6. yeres.
6	4	Aug. Steward 3.	Tho. Sutterton. Leo. Sutterton	